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THUCYDIDES
HISTORIES
BOOK III

EDITED
WITH NOTES, FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS
BY
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PREFACE

THIS book has been written for schoolboys, and, in consequence, a more dogmatical tone has sometimes been assumed than would be becoming in a work designed for a different class of readers. I have not thought it necessary to refer by name, except very rarely, to any of the well-known editors of Thucydides, whose notes I have read and often used. Their names would mean nothing to schoolboys, and it is a pity to load their memories with useless and pedantic knowledge. I have prefixed no historical introduction to the edition, since the period embraced in the book can be found fully dealt with in any of the admirable smaller histories of Greece that have been written for the use of schools. But I have made a few remarks on the peculiarities of Thucydides' style, by which I hope the notes may be made more intelligible, and I have given a short account of the existing manuscripts. I have to acknowledge the kindness of Mr. H. S. Jones, of Trinity, who read my notes in MS., of the Provost of Oriel, who read the first thirty chapters, and in particular of Mr. W. H. Forbes, of Balliol, who corrected my notes in

proof, and assisted me with many valuable suggestions. I regret that Mr. A. W. Spratt's learned edition came into my hands too late to be of substantial service. The text of this book was prepared by Mr. H. S. Jones for the Oxford Classical Texts.

INTRODUCTION

THE difficulty and harshness of the style of Thucydides were recognized by the ancients. Cicero writes of his speeches—‘ipsae illae contiones ita multas habent obscuras abditasque sententias vix ut intelligantur.’ Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who is by no means blind to the historian’s great merits, to the force, precision and nobility of his language, finds fault with his obscurity and disregard of the ordinary rules of grammar. ‘Few are they,’ he says, ‘who can understand the whole of Thucydides, and even the few are often at a loss without the aid of a commentary.’ He complains of the freedom with which the writer ‘changes substantives into verbs and verbs into substantives, turns actives into passives and passives into actives, and groups together singulars and plurals, masculines feminines and neuters on no grammatical principle.’ And again he mentions his exaggerated fondness of condensation and concentration, his brevity that is often obscure.

It is plain then that ancient readers found Thucydides hard to understand. Modern readers must acquiesce in his difficulty and be cautious in laying to the account of the manuscripts a fault which, we are told on excellent authority, belonged to the writer himself. Recent editors have been too ready to assume that an author who is sometimes clear and simple should be clear and simple always, that the *speeches* which deal with ideas, which expound political principles and bring out the concealed meaning and inward logic of events and situations should be as intelligible as the *narrative* which relates plain facts. As a matter of fact the narrative abounds in grammatical irregularities and anacolutha, differing only in degree from those which are found in the speeches, and attributable, in the view of the present editor, to other causes than the faultiness of the manuscripts.

INTRODUCTION

There is to be sure no manuscript of Thucydides of such paramount importance as the Laurentian manuscript of Sophocles, and it is true that all the existing manuscripts show traces either of carelessness or, what is worse, of conscious alteration; but the faults of one manuscript can frequently be corrected by the help of others, and the errors are mostly of a definite and recurring nature, and do not affect the writer's meaning to any appreciable degree. How dangerous it is to rewrite an ancient author has recently been exemplified by the discovery at Oxyrhynchus of a papyrus fragment containing a small portion of Book IV, a book which has been treated in a very drastic manner by a distinguished editor, who is of opinion that the text of Thucydides has suffered much from the insertion of 'adscripts' or notes of commentators. The fragment, which is ascribed to the first century, is far from confirming this hypothesis. One $\delta\tau\iota$ is omitted to the great improvement of the syntax and sense (and that single words such as $\delta\tau\iota$, $o\iota$, $\tau\iota s$, $\ddot{\alpha}v$ can easily fall out or be inserted had been already suspected), but otherwise the text agrees in the main with the text of the existing manuscripts.

The difficulties of Thucydides are therefore due to other causes than the ignorance or carelessness of his copyists. They are due in part to the nature of the man himself, in part to the conditions under which he wrote. Nor must it be too hastily assumed that the irregularities and solecisms which are found in the pages of Thucydides occur in no other Greek writer. They are to be found in all Greek writers, only in a less degree. That 'change of intention,' of which so much is said in this commentary, could be largely exemplified from both poets and prose writers. Its frequency in Thucydides is due, in part, to the intellectual ardour and impatience of the writer. Thoughts crowd upon him too quickly; *semper instat sibi*. He begins a sentence with a plan in his mind which is upset by the intrusion of a new idea and, at the end, he is content if the thought is clear, and is not too much concerned about the grammatical correctness of his sentence. The same tendency may be seen in the writings of St. Paul and in the speeches of Oliver Cromwell, and with them it is partly due to the same cause.

Thucydides belongs to an artificial age, to the age of the sophists and rhetoricians, when Greek prose was only beginning to discover

the possibilities that lay within itself, when it was still self-conscious and brusque, revealing the skeleton of its framework, producing its effects by obvious effort, devoid of harmony and rude in rhythm, but strong, audacious, irresistibly effective. Hitherto the few prose writers of whom we know anything had written as nature bade them. Now they began to write by rules, and the process of development commenced which culminated in the 'period,' *λέξις συνεστραμμένη*, through which Greek prose reached its most perfect form. The epoch of Thucydides, which was also the epoch of Gorgias, Prodicus and Antiphon, has been termed the 'antithetical' epoch. It was Gorgias who adapted to the use of prose the device of presenting ideas and things in pairs, the one illuminating the other by contrast, and students of Thucydides do not need to be reminded that there is no figure more common in his prose than the 'antithesis,' which he sometimes employs with brilliant effect (1. 71), but which sometimes betrays him into a play of words or a sacrifice of sense to sound (3. 40. 1). It was the aim of this school to combine precision with attractiveness. Gorgias was not only most precise in his use of language and most careful in distinguishing apparent synonyms, but he sought to make his style attractive by the use of poetic and archaic words, or startling by coining new words or employing old words in new senses.

Thucydides, it is said, was the pupil of Antiphon. In any case he learnt his art in the school of the sophists. But his creative mind dealt with language with a power and freedom and a grasp of reality unknown to them. He gained from them what has been called the 'grammar of style.' His prose is built on the framework invented by Gorgias, but the structure itself is of a substance and vitality that nothing but genius can bestow.

Like Gorgias he seeks precision. He is most scrupulous in his use of words, most careful to distinguish synonyms, eager to express the subtlest shades of meaning either by modifications of the existing vocabulary (notice his frequent use of the compound for the simple verb), or by the invention of new words or new turns of speech, such as the employment of the neuter participle with the article, which gives a meaning lying between the simple substantive and the abstract verbal noun.

He spared no device to make his style attractive by employing everything that was striking or novel or unexpected. He is fond of archaisms and poetic words and constructions. He is a great coiner of new words, and he often imparts to ordinary words a new and highly imaginative meaning. In the structure of sentences again he is always aiming at effect, and to this are due many of those difficulties which have won him an evil reputation for harshness or obscurity or wilful disregard of the ordinary rules of grammar. It is true that he may be said to disregard the rules of grammar, but he does so often of malice prepense. It is his aim to leave this or that word isolated in the sentence in order that it may be brought into prominent relief, and to this end he often employs $\mu\acute{e}ν$ — $\delta\acute{e}$, or $\tau\epsilon$ — kai to oppose or connect words that we do not expect to see opposed or connected. He is guided by the same rhetorical considerations in his arrangement of words. The ‘object’ is often separated by a long interval from the word on which it depends, or the salient word in the sentence is put first so as to surprise or strike the reader, or for the same reason it is put last.

The general effect of these devices is that the reader’s mind is attracted to the details rather than to the general effect of the sentence. Nothing could be more unlike the style of Plato or Demosthenes, who had learnt to conceal their art. The style of Thucydides is self-conscious in the highest degree, it is artificial and rhetorical; but it is powerful, striking, passionate, and if the reader misses the intellectual satisfaction which he finds in the best prose of the Attic age, he nevertheless at every turn feels himself face to face with a strong original mind, whose working he is the better able to trace through the artificial medium in which it finds expression.

In one respect Thucydides resembles Propertius. He can be most diffuse or most condensed. There are times when he is unnecessarily verbose. He is so anxious that his readers should fully understand his exact meaning that he labours his points with an unnecessary expenditure of words, he repeats the same thought more than once in a varied form. This is a familiar rhetorical device, but Thucydides carries it to excess, and this redundancy more than anything else has thrown suspicion on the soundness of the manuscript tradition. What seems superfluous is set down as a comment which has been incorporated in the text.

On the other hand he is often so brief, so condensed, that his meaning is nearly lost. He will pass in a single sentence from one idea to another without supplying the grammatical links, the necessary stepping-stones. A good instance of this compression will be found in 3. 59. 2 ἡμέρας τε ἀναμιμνήσκομεν ἐκείνης ἦ τὰ λαμπρότατα μετ' αἰτῶν πράξαντες νῦν ἐν τῇδε τὰ δεινότατα κινδυνεύομεν παθεῖν. ‘And we remind you of that great day on which we did most gloriously at their sides, while now on this day we are like to suffer the most dreadful doom.’ Logically *ἦ* belongs only to *πράξαντες*, but grammatically it should be taken with *κινδυνεύομεν*. In any case the sentence has to be expanded before it is intelligible. On the same principle some commentators explain the difficulty of 3. 11. 4 ἄμα μὲν γὰρ μαρτυρίῳ ἐχρώντο μὴ ἀν τούς γε ἵσοφίφους ἄκοντας εἰ μή τι ἡδίκουν οἷς ἐπῆσαν ξυστρατεύειν. Occasionally he compresses into one construction and one sentence what another writer would express in two, as in 3. 12. 1 ὅ τε τοῖς ἄλλοις μάλιστα εὗνοια πίστιν βεβαιοῖ, ἡμῖν τοῦτο δέ φόβος ἔχνρὸν παρεῖχε. And the same impatience and swiftness of thought are shown in his frequent omissions of such words as the second term of a comparison after a comparative, or of the antecedent of a relative.

There are a large number of manuscripts of Thucydides; but the principal manuscripts on which our text is based are seven in number, known by the capital letters affixed to them by Bekker. They are as follows:—A. Cisalpinus or Italus of the twelfth century, which is in the National Library at Paris. B. Vaticanus of the eleventh century, in the Vatican. C. Laurentianus of the tenth century, at Florence. E. Palatinus of the eleventh century, at Heidelberg. F. Monacensis of the fourteenth century, at Munich. G. Monacensis, of the thirteenth century, at Munich. M, of the eleventh century, in the British Museum.

It is clear from the general similarity of their mistakes that all these manuscripts can be referred to one archetype. But among them two families can be distinguished, one of which is headed by C and the other by B. The family of C contains only one other manuscript, namely G, which agrees closely with C and yet shows sufficient differences to give it something of an independent value. To the family of B belong, first and nearest, A, which is derived apparently from the same original; F and E at a longer interval.

INTRODUCTION

E holds a more independent position than the other members of its group and is occasionally found in agreement with CG. M, to which one editor has assigned a position altogether beyond its merits, hold a middle position between the two families, agreeing now with one, now with the other.

Editors are divided on the question of the relative importance of B and C. For a long time B was assigned the first place, and it is true that for certain books, i.e. for part of the sixth and all the seventh and eighth books, it holds a peculiar position and is either founded on a better original or has been carefully edited and corrected. But for the other books its value is not so great, and the errors which it exhibits are the more dangerous that they seem to be errors of design. In other words it shows many traces of a corrector's hand. Recent editors have given greater weight to the authority of C, and the editor of the text of the present edition prefers its tradition in doubtful cases to that of the other family of manuscripts. The authority of this manuscript is naturally of the highest value when it is confirmed by the support of M and E.

In this book of Thucydides two chapters (17 and 84) will be found enclosed in brackets, and in the notes evidence has been collected to show that they are not the work of Thucydides. The evidence against them is certainly strong, and it is difficult to believe that they represent at any rate the writer's final work. But it must be remembered that Thucydides left his history unfinished, and it is likely that some passages were unrevised, of which chapter 84 may be one.

Occasional reference is made in the notes to various external authorities, apart from the actual manuscripts, by which we are assisted in establishing the text of Thucydides. Principal among these is the writer Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who in his work on Thucydides often makes long quotations from the history, which exhibit marked variations from the ordinary text. Unfortunately, however, the text of this writer has been transmitted to us in such an unsatisfactory condition that his assistance is deprived of nearly all its value. When however he is found agreeing with one manuscript against the others some weight may be attached to his authority. Importance has sometimes been given to the Latin translation of the history made by Laurent Valla in 1452, and commentaries

abound in references to his work as to an authority, but we have no evidence that the translator had access to any manuscript older or better than those which are known to us. Occasional assistance may be derived from the scholia, and from the works of such writers as Pollux and Stephanus of Byzantium who had very early manuscripts before them.

Reference has already been made to the papyrus fragment of great palaeographical value which was recently discovered at Oxyrhynchus. Until more documents of this kind are exhumed no further light is likely to be thrown upon the text of Thucydides. It may be noticed that the single voice of any value that comes to us from antiquity (the inscription recording the treaty with Argos, unearthed in Athens in 1877, stands on a different footing) actually confirms the authority of the received text, and it is probable that this fortunate discovery will serve to check the tide of destructive criticism which, starting from an unverifiable hypothesis, threatened to substitute for the authority of written manuscripts the very fallible ingenuity of individual critics.

S I G L A

A = cod. Parisinus suppl. Gr. 255

B = cod. Vaticanus 126

C = cod. Laurentianus LXIX. 2

E = cod. Palatinus 252

F = cod. Monacensis 430

G = cod. Monacensis 228

M = cod. Britannicus 11, 727

A¹B¹ etc. = scriptura a prima manu correcta

a b etc. = scriptura a manu recentiore substituta vel
adscripta

[A] [B] etc. = verba in codice olim exarata hodie vel
evanida vel exesa

γρ. = scriptura signo γρ(άφεται) addito adscripta

codd. = consensus codicum A B C E F G M

recc. = unus vel plures e codicibus recentioris aevi

vulgo = scriptura in editionibus vulgata

ΙΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ Γ

Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμ- 1
μαχοὶ ἄμα τῷ σίτῳ ἀκμάζοντι ἐστράτευσαν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικήν.
ἡγεῦτο δὲ αὐτῶν Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ Ζενεξιδάμον Λακεδαιμονίων
βασιλεύς. καὶ ἐγκαθεζόμενοι ἐδήσουν τὴν γῆν· καὶ προσ- 2
βολαί, ὥσπερ εἰώθεσαν, ἐγίγνοντο τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἵππεων ὅπῃ
παρείκοι, καὶ τὸν πλεῖστον ὅμιλον τῶν ψιλῶν εἵργον τὸ μὴ
προεξιόντας τῶν ὅπλων τὰ ἐγγὺς τῆς πόλεως κακουργεῖν.
ἐμμεύναντες δὲ χρόνον οὐ εἶχον τὰ σιτία ἀνεχώρησαν καὶ 3
διελύθησαν κατὰ πόλεις.

10 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐσβολὴν τῶν Πελοποννησίων εὐθὺς Λέσβος 2
πλὴν Μηθύμνης ἀπέστη ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων, βουληθέντες μὲν
καὶ πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου, ἀλλ' οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐ προσεδέ-
ξαντο, ἀναγκασθέντες δὲ καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἀπόστασιν πρότερον
ἢ διενοοῦντο ποιήσασθαι. τῶν τε γὰρ λιμένων τὴν χῶσιν 2
15 καὶ τειχῶν οἰκοδόμησιν καὶ νεῶν ποίησιν ἐπέμενον τελε-
σθῆναι, καὶ ὅσα ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ἔδει ἀφικέσθαι, τοξότας τε
καὶ σῆνον, καὶ ἡ μεταπεμπόμενοι ἦσαν. Τενέδιοι γὰρ ὅντες 3
αὐτοῖς διάφοροι καὶ Μηθυμναῖοι καὶ αὐτῶν Μυτιληναίων
ἰδίᾳ ἄνδρες κατὰ στάσιν, πρόξενοι Ἀθηναίων, μηνυταὶ
20 γίγνονται τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὅτι ξυνοικίζουσί τε τὴν Λέσβον
ἐς τὴν Μυτιλήνην βίᾳ καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν ἅπασαν μετὰ
Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Βοιωτῶν ξυγγενῶν ὅντων ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει
ἐπείγονται· καὶ εἰ μὴ τις προκαταλήψεται ἥδη, στερήσεσθαι

6 post εἵργον add. διὰ C G

7 προεξιόντας G M : προσεξιόντας cett.

3 αὐτοὺς Λέσβου. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι (ἥσαν γὰρ τεταλαιπωρημένοι οὐπό τε τῆς νόσου καὶ τοῦ πολέμου ἄρτι καθισταμένου καὶ ἀκμάζοντος) μέγα μὲν ἔργον ἥγοῦντο εἶναι Λέσβου προσπολεμώσασθαι ναυτικὸν ἔχονταν καὶ δύναμιν ἀκέραιοι, καὶ οὐκ ἀπεδέχοντο τὸ πρῶτον τὰς κατηγορίας, μεῖζον μέρος 5 νέμοντες τῷ μὴ βούλεσθαι ἀληθῆ εἶναι ἐπειδὴ μέντοι καὶ πέμψαντες πρέσβεις οὐκ ἔπειθον τὸν Μυτιληναίον τὴν τε ἔννοικισιν καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν διαλύειν, δείσαντες προκατα-
2 λαβεῖν ἐβούλοντο. καὶ πέμπουσιν ἑξαπιναίως τεσταράκοντα ναῦς αἱ ἔτυχοι περὶ Πελοπόννησον παρεσκευασμέναι 10 πλεῦν. Κλεϊππίδης δὲ ὁ Δεινόν τρίτος αὐτὸς ἐστρατήγει.
3 ἐσηγγέλθη γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὡς εἴη Ἀπόλλωνος Μαλόεντος ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἕορτή, ἐν δὲ πανδημεὶ Μυτιληναῖοι ἕορτάζουσι, καὶ ἐλπίδα εἶναι ἐπειχθέντας ἐπιπεσεῖν ἄφνω, καὶ ἦν μὲν ἔνυμβῇ ἡ πεῖρα· εἰ δὲ μή, Μυτιληναίοις εἰπεῦν ναῦς τε παρ- 15 δοῦναι καὶ τείχη καθελεῖν, μὴ πειθομένων δὲ πολεμεῖν.
4 καὶ αἱ μὲν νῆες ὥχοντο· τὰς δὲ τῶν Μυτιληναίων δέκα τρίήρεις, αἱ ἔτυχον βοηθοὶ παρὰ σφᾶς κατὰ τὸ ξυμμαχικὸν παροῦσαι, κατέσχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ τοὺς ἄγδρας ἐξ αὐτῶν
5 ἐσ φυλακὴν ἐποιήσαντο. τοῖς δὲ Μυτιληναίοις ἀνὴρ ἐκ τῶν 20 Ἀθηνῶν διαβὰς ἐσ Εὔβοιαν καὶ πεζῇ ἐπὶ Γεραιστὸν ἐλθών, δλκάδος ἀναγομένης ἐπιτυχών, πλῷ χρησάμενος καὶ τριταῖος ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἐσ Μυτιλίηνη ἀφικόμενος ἀγγέλλει τὸν ἐπίπλουν. οἱ δὲ οὕτε ἐσ τὸν Μαλόεντα ἐξῆλθοι, τά τε ἄλλα τῶν τειχῶν καὶ λιμένων περὶ τὰ ἡμιτέλεστα φαρξάμενοι 25
4 ἐφύλασσον. καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον καταπλεύσαντες ὡς ἐώρων, ἀπίγγειλαν μὲν οἱ στρατηγοὶ τὰ ἐπεσταλμέγα, οὐκ ἐσακουόγτων δὲ τῶν Μυτιληναίων ἐσ πόλεμον
2 καθίσταντο. ἀπαράσκενοι δὲ οἱ Μυτιληναῖοι καὶ ἐξαίφνης ἀναγκασθέντες πολεμεῖν ἐκπλουν μέν τινα ἐποιήσαντο τῶν 30 νεῶν ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν δλίγον πρὸ τοῦ λιμένος, ἐπειτα

καταδιωχθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀττικῶν νεῶν λόγους ἥδη προσ-
έφερον τοὺς στρατηγοῖς, βουλόμενοι τὰς ναῦς τὸ παραυτίκα,
εἰ δύναιτο, δμολογίᾳ τινὶ ἐπιεικεῖ ἀποπέμψασθαι. καὶ οἱ 3
στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπεδέξαντο καὶ αὐτοὶ φοβούμενοι
5 μὴ οὐχ ἴκανοι ὥστι Λέσβῳ πάσῃ πολεμεῖν. καὶ ἀνοκωχὴν 4
ποιησάμενοι πέμπουσιν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας οἱ Μυτιληναῖοι τῶν
τε διαβαλλόντων ἔνα, ὁ μετέμελεν ἥδη, καὶ ἄλλους, εἴ πως
πείσειαν τὰς ναῦς ἀπελθεῖν ως σφῶν οὐδὲν νεωτεριούντων.
ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἀποστέλλουσι καὶ ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα πρέσβεις 5
10 τριήρει, λαθόντες τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ναυτικόν, οἱ ὥρμοιν ἐν
τῇ Μαλέᾳ πρὸς βορέαν τῆς πόλεως· οὐ γὰρ ἐπίστενον τοῖς
ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων προχωρήσειν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐς τὴν Λακε- 6
δαίμονα ταλαιπώρως διὰ τοῦ πελάγους κομισθέντες αὐτοῖς
Ἐπρασπον ὅπως τις βοήθεια ἥξει· οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν 5
15 πρέσβεις ως οὐδὲν ἥλθον πράξαντες, ἐς πόλεμον καθίσταντο
οἱ Μυτιληναῖοι καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Λέσβος πλὴν Μηθύμνης· οὗτοι
δὲ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐβεβοηθήκεσαν, καὶ Ἰμβριοι καὶ Λήμνιοι
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δλίγοι τινὲς ἔνυμάχων. καὶ ἔξοδον μέν 2
τινα πανδημεὶ ἐποιήσαντο οἱ Μυτιληναῖοι ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν Ἀθη-
20 ναίων στρατόπεδον, καὶ μάχη ἐγένετο, ἐν ᾧ οὐκ ἔλασπον
ἔχοντες οἱ Μυτιληναῖοι οὔτε ἐπηυλίσαντο οὔτε ἐπίστενσαν
σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ’ ἀνεχώρησαν· ἐπειτα οἱ μὲν ἡσύχαζον,
ἐκ Πελοποννήσου καὶ μετ’ ἄλλης παρασκευῆς βουλόμενοι εἰ
προσγένοιτό τι κινδυνεύειν· καὶ γὰρ αὐτοῖς Μελέας Λάκων
25 ἀφικυνεῖται καὶ Ἐρμαιώνδας Θηβαῖος, οἱ προαπεστάλησαν
μὲν τῆς ἀποστάσεως, φθάσαι δὲ οὐ δυνάμενοι τὸν τῶν Ἀθη-
ναίων ἐπίπλονν κρύφα μετὰ τὴν μάχην ὕστερον ἐσπλέουσι
τριήρει, καὶ παρήνουν πέμπτειν τριήρη ἄλλην καὶ πρέσβεις
μεθ’ ἑαυτῶν· καὶ ἐκπέμπουσιν. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι πολὺ 6
30 ἐπιρρωσθέντες διὰ τὴν τῶν Μυτιληναίων ἡσυχίαν ἔνυμάχους
τε προσεκάλουν, οἱ πολὺ θᾶσσον παρῆσαν δρῶντες οὐδὲν
ἰσχυρὸν ἀπὸ τῶν Λεσβίων, καὶ περιορμισάμενοι τὸ πρὸς

νότον τῆς πόλεως ἐτείχισαν στρατόπεδα δύο ἑκατέρωθεν τῆς πόλεως, καὶ τὸν ἐφόρμους ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς λιμέσιν 2 ἐποιοῦντο. καὶ τῆς μὲν θαλάσσης εἰργον μὴ χρῆσθαι τὸν Μυτιληναῖον, τῆς δὲ γῆς τῆς μὲν ἄλλης ἐκράτουν οἱ Μυτιληναῖοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Λέσβιοι προσβεβοηθηκότες ἥδη, 5 τὸ δὲ περὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα οὐ πολὺ κατεῖχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ναύσταθμον δὲ μᾶλλον ἦν αὐτοῖς πλοίων καὶ ἀγορὰ ἡ Μαλέα. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Μυτιλήνην οὕτως ἐπολεμεῖτο.

- 7 Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τοῦ θέρους τούτου Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ περὶ Πελοπόννησον ναῦς ἀπέστειλαν τριάκοντα καὶ 10 Ασώπιον τὸν Φορμίωνος στρατηγόν, κελευσάντων Ἀκαρνάνων τῷν Φορμίωνός τινα σφίσι πέμψαι ἢ νίὸν ἢ ἔνγγειη 2 ἄρχοντα. καὶ παραπλέουσαι αἱ νῆσες τῆς Λακωνικῆς τὰ 3 ἐπιθαλάσσια χωρία ἐπόρθησαν. ἔπειτα τὰς μὲν πλείους ἀποπέμπει τῷν νεῶν πάλιν ἐπ' οἴκου δ' Ασώπιος, αὐτὸς δ' 15 ἔχων δώδεκα ἀφικνεῦται ἐς Ναύπακτον, καὶ ὑστερον Ἀκαρνανας ἀναστήσας πανδημεὶ στρατεύει ἐπ' Οἰνιάδας, καὶ ταῖς τε ναυσὶ κατὰ τὸν Αχελῷον ἔπλευσε καὶ δ' κατὰ γῆν στρατὸς 4 ἐδίγουν τὴν χώραν. ὡς δ' οὐ προσεχώρουν, τὸν μὲν πεζὸν ἀφίσιν, αὐτὸς δὲ πλεύσας ἐς Λευκάδα καὶ ἀπόβασιν ἐς Νήρικον 20 ποιησάμενος ἀναχωρῶν διαφθείρεται αὐτὸς τε καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς τι μέρος ὑπὸ τῷν αὐτόθειν τε ξυμβοηθησάντων καὶ φρούρῶν τινῶν δλίγων. καὶ ὑστερον ὑποσπόνδους τοὺς γεκροὺς ἀποπλεύσαντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι παρὰ τῷν Λευκαδίων ἐκομίσαντο.
- 8 Οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης νεὼς ἐκπεμφθέντες Μυτιληναίων 25 πρέπεις, ὡς αὐτοῖς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι εἶπον Ὁλυμπίαξε παρεῖναι, ὅπως καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἔνυμαχοι ἀκούσαντες βουλεύσωνται, ἀφικνοῦνται ἐς τὴν Ὁλυμπίαν ἦν δὲ Ὁλυμπιὰς ἢ 2 Δωριεὺς Ρόδιος τὸ δεύτερον ἐνίκα. καὶ ἐπειδὴ μετὰ τὴν ἔορτὴν κατέστησαν ἐς λόγους, εἶπον τοιάδε.
- 9 ‘Τὸ μὲν καθεστὸς τοῖς Ἑλλησι νόμιμον, ὁ Λακεδαι-

7 ἀγορὰ Krüger : ἀγορᾶς codd. 10 περὶ] ἐς A B E F M 22 αὐτόθι C G 31 καθεστὼς (-ῶς) A B F G post ἂ add. ἀνδρες A B E F M

μόνιοι καὶ ξύμμαχοι, ἵσμεν τὸν γὰρ ἀφισταμένους ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις καὶ ξύμμαχίαν τὴν πρὸν ἀποδείποντας οἱ δεξάμενοι, καθ' ὅσον μὲν ὡφελοῦνται, ἐν ἡδονῇ ἔχουσι, νομίζοντες δὲ ἐνναι προδότας τῶν πρὸ τοῦ φίλων χείρους ἡγοῦνται. καὶ 2 5 οὐκ ἄδικος αὕτη ἡ ἀξίωσίς ἐστιν, εἰ τύχοιεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἵ τε ἀφιστάμενοι καὶ ἀφ' ὧν διακρίνοντο ἵσοι μὲν τῇ γυνώμῃ ὄντες καὶ εὐνοίᾳ, ἀντίπαλοι δὲ τῇ παρασκευῇ καὶ δυνάμει, πρόφασίς τε ἐπιεικῆς μηδεμίᾳ ὑπάρχοι τῆς ἀποστάσεως· δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ Ἀθηναίοις οὐκ ἦν. μηδέ τῷ χείρους 3 10 δόξωμεν ἐνναι εἰ ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ τιμώμενοι ὑπὸ αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς ἀφιστάμεθα.

‘Περὶ γὰρ τοῦ δικαίου καὶ ἀρετῆς πρῶτον ἄλλως τε καὶ ξύμμαχίας δεόμενοι τὸν λόγον ποιησόμεθα, εἰδότες οὖτε φιλίαν ἰδιώταις βέβαιον γιγνομένην οὔτε κοιωνίαν πόλεσιν ἐσ 15 οὐδέν, εἰ μὴ μετ' ἀρετῆς δοκούσης ἐς ἀλλήλους γίγνοντο καὶ τᾶλλα δμοιότροποι εἴεν· ἐν γὰρ τῷ διαλλάσσοντι τῆς γυνώμης καὶ αἱ διαφοραὶ τῶν ἔργων καθίστανται. ἡμῖν δὲ 2 καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ξύμμαχία ἐγένετο πρῶτον ἀπολιπόντων μὲν 20 ὑμῶν ἐκ τοῦ Μηδικοῦ πολέμου, παραμεινάντων δὲ ἐκείνων πρὸς τὰ ὑπόλοιπα τῶν ἔργων. ξύμμαχοι μέντοι ἐγενόμεθα 3 οὐκ ἐπὶ καταδουλώσει τῶν Ἑλλήνων Ἀθηναίοις, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἐλευθερώσει ἀπὸ τοῦ Μήδου τοῖς Ἑλλησιν. καὶ μέχρι μὲν 4 ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου ἡγοῦντο, προθύμως εἰπόμεθα· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐωρῶμεν αὐτοὺς τὴν μὲν τοῦ Μήδου ἔχθραν ἀνιέντας, τὴν δὲ τῶν 25 ξύμμαχων δούλωσιν ἐπαγομένους, οὐκ ἀδεεῖς ἔτι ἡμεν. ἀδύνατοι δὲ ὄντες καθ' ἐν γενόμενοι διὰ πολυψηφίαν ἀμύνα- 5 σθαι οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐδουλώθησαν πλὴν ἡμῶν καὶ Χίων· ἡμεῖς δὲ αὐτόνομοι δὴ ὄντες καὶ ἐλεύθεροι τῷ ὀνόματι ξυνεστρατεύσαμεν. καὶ πιστοὺς οὐκέτι εἴχομεν ἡγεμόνας Ἀθηναίους, 6 30 παραδείγμασι τοῖς προγιγνομένοις χρώμενοι· οὐ γὰρ εἰκὸς ἦν αὐτοὺς οὓς μὲν μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐνσπόνδους ἐποιήσαντο κατα-

7 ἐπινοίᾳ Hude
Ross

9 post δ add. καὶ C [G]

26 ἀμύνεσθαι Λ B E F M suprascr. G

25. ἐπειγομένους
30 προγενομένους

στρέψασθαι, τοὺς δὲ ὑπολοίπους, εἴ ποτε ἄρα ἐδυνήθησαν,
 II μὴ δρᾶσαι τοῦτο. καὶ εἰ μὲν αὐτόνομοι ἔτι ἡμεν ἅπαντες,
 βεβαιότεροι ἀν ἡμῶν ἦσαν μηδὲν νεωτεριεῦν· ὑποχειρίους δὲ
 ἔχοντες τοὺς πλείους, ἡμῶν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵσου διμιλοῦντες,
 χαλεπώτερον εἰκότως ἔμελλον οἴσειν καὶ πρὸς τὸ πλέον ἥδη 5
 εἴκον τοῦ ἡμετέρου ἔτι μόνου ἀντισουμένου, ἄλλως τε καὶ
 ὅσῳ δυνατώτεροι αὐτοὶ αὐτῶν ἐγίγνοντο καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐρημό-
 2 τεροι. τὸ δὲ ἀντίπαλον δέος μόνον πιστὸν ἐς ξυμμαχίαν·
 ὁ γὰρ παραβαίνεων τι βουλόμενος τῷ μὴ προύχων ἀν ἐπελ-
 3 θεῦν ἀποτρέπεται. αὐτόνομοί τε ἐλείφθημεν οὐδὲ ἄλλο τι 10
 ἡ ὅσον αὐτοῖς ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐπρεπείᾳ τε λόγου καὶ γνώμης
 μᾶλλον ἐφόδῳ ἢ ἰσχύος τὰ πράγματα ἐφαίνετο καταληπτά.
 4 ἂμα μὲν γὰρ μαρτυρίῳ ἐχρῶντο μὴ ἀν τοὺς γε ἴσοφήφοις
 ἀκοντας, εἰ μή τι ἥδικουν οἷς ἐπῆσαν, ξυστρατεύειν· ἐν τῷ
 αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ τὰ κράτιστα ἐπί τε τοὺς ὑποδεεστέρους πρώτους 15
 ξυνεπῆγον καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα λιπόντες τοῦ ἄλλου περιηρη-
 5 μένου ἀσθενέστερα ἔμελλον ἔξεων. εἰ δὲ ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἥρξαντο,
 ἐχόντων ἔτι τῶν πάντων αὐτῶν τε ἰσχὺν καὶ πρὸς ὅτι χρὴ
 6 στῆναι, οὐκ ἀν ὁμοίως ἐχειρώσαντο. τό τε ναυτικὸν ἡμῶν
 παρεῖχε τῶa φόβον μή ποτε καθ' ἐν γενόμενον ἢ ὑμῶν ἢ 20
 7 ἄλλω τῷ προσθέμενον κύνδυνον σφίσι παράσχῃ. τὰ δὲ
 καὶ ἀπὸ θεραπείας τοῦ τε κοωοῦ αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν αἱεὶ προ-
 8 εστώτων περιεγιγνόμεθα. οὐ μέντοι ἐπὶ πολύ γ' ἀν ἐδο-
 κοῦμεν δυνηθῆναι, εἰ μὴ ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε κατέστη, παραδείγμασι
 12 χρώμενοι τοῖς ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους. τίς οὖν αὕτη ἢ φιλία ἐγίγνετο 25
 ἢ ἐλευθερία πιστή, ἐν ἣ παρὰ γνώμην ἀλλήλους ὑπεδεχόμεθα,
 καὶ οἱ μὲν ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ δεδιότες ἐθεράπευον, ἡμεῖς δὲ
 ἐκείνους ἐν τῇ ἡσυχίᾳ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐποιοῦμεν· ὅ τε τοῖς ἄλλοις
 μάλιστα εἴνοια πίστιν βεβαιοῦ, ἡμῶν τοῦτο ὁ φόβος ἐχυρὸν
 παρεῖχε, δέει τε τὸ πλέον ἢ φιλίᾳ κατεχόμενοι ξύμμαχοι 30
 ἡμεν· καὶ ὅποτέροις θάσσον παράσχοι ἀσφάλεια θάρσος,

I δυνηθεῖεν Dobree 14 ἐκόντας Schol. alter 16 τὰ secl.
 Krüger 23 δοκοῦμεν Krüger 25 ἡ c f G : ἡ cett. (etiam C,
 ut videtur) 31 ἡμεν] εἶναι C G

οὗτοι πρότεροί τι καὶ παραβήσεσθαι ἔμελλον. ὥστε εἴ τῷ 2
δοκοῦμεν ἀδικεῖν προαποστάντες διὰ τὴν ἐκείνων μέλλησιν
τῶν ἐς ἡμᾶς δεινῶν, αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἀνταναμείναντες σαφῶς
εἰδέναι εἴ τι αὐτῶν ἔσται, οὐκ ὅρθως σκοπεῖ. εἰ γὰρ δυνατοὶ 3
5 ἡμενὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἵσου καὶ ἀντεπιβουλεῦσαι καὶ ἀντιμελλῆσαι, τί⁵
ἔδει ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου ἐπ’ ἐκείνοις εἶναι; ἐπ’ ἐκείνοις δὲ
δύντος αἱὲ τοῦ ἐπιχειρεῦν καὶ ἐφ’ ἡμῶν εἶναι δεῖ τὸ προαμύ-
νασθαι.

‘Τοιαύτας ἔχοντες προφάσεις καὶ αἰτίας, ὁ Λακεδαι- 13
10 μόνιοι καὶ ξύμμαχοι, ἀπέστημεν, σαφεῖς μὲν τοῖς ἀκούοντις
γνῶναι ὡς εἰκότως ἐδράσαμεν, ἵκανὰς δὲ ἡμᾶς ἐκφοβῆσαι
καὶ πρὸς ἀσφάλειάν τινα τρέψαι, βουλομένους μὲν καὶ
πάλαι, ὅτε ἔτι ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἐπέμψαμεν ὡς ἡμᾶς περὶ
ἀποστάσεως, ὑμῶν δὲ οὐ προσδεξαμένων κωλυθέντας· νῦν
15 δὲ ἐπειδὴ Βοιωτοὶ προυκαλέσαντο εὐθὺς ὑπηκούσαμεν, καὶ
ἐνομίζομεν ἀποστήσεσθαι διπλῆν ἀπόστασιν, ἀπό τε τῶν
‘Ελλήνων μὴ ξὺν κακῷ ποιεῦν αὐτοὺς μετ’ Ἀθηναίων ἀλλὰ
ξυνελευθεροῦν, ἀπό τε Ἀθηναίων μὴ αὐτοὶ διαφθαρῆναι ὑπ’
20 ἐκείνων ἐν ὑστέρῳ ἀλλὰ προποιῆσαι. ἡ μέντοι ἀπόστασις 2
ἡμῶν θᾶσσον γεγένηται καὶ ἀπαράσκευος· ἦ καὶ μᾶλλον
χρὴ ξυμμάχους δεξαμένους ἡμᾶς διὰ ταχέων βοήθειαν ἀπο-
στέλλειν, ἵνα φαίνησθε ἀμύνοντές τε οἵς δεῖ καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ
τοὺς πολεμίους βλάπτοντες. καιρὸς δὲ ὡς οὕπω πρότερον. 3
νόσῳ τε γὰρ ἐφθύραται Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ χρημάτων δαπάνῃ,
25 νῆσος τε αὐτοῖς αἱ μὲν περὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν εἰσίν, αἱ δὲ ἐφ’
ἡμῶν τετάχαται. ὥστε οὐκ εἰκὸς αὐτοὺς περιουσίαν νεῶν 4
ἔχειν, ἷν τὸ μεῖναι ἐν τῷ θέρει τῷδε ναυσί τε καὶ πεζῷ ἄμα
ἐπεσβάλητε τὸ δεύτερον, ἀλλ’ ἡ ἡμᾶς οὐκ ἀμυνοῦνται
ἐπιπλέοντας ἡ ἀπ’ ἀμφοτέρων ἀποχωρήσονται. νομίσῃ τε 5
30 μηδεὶς ἀλλοτρίας γῆς πέρι οἰκεῖον κίνδυνον ἔξειν. φὰ γὰρ
δοκεῖ μακρὰν ἀπεῖναι ἡ Λέσβος, τὴν ωφελίαν αὐτῷ ἐγγύειν

5 ἀντιμελλῆσαι Schol. alter: ἀντεπιμελῆσαι vel ἀντεπιμελῆσαι
codd.: ἀντιμελῆσαι τι Heilmann, qui post ἀντεπιβουλεῦσαι distinxit
6 ἐκείνους λέναι Krüger

παρέξει. οὐ γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἔσται ὁ πόλεμος, ὡς τις
οἰεται, ἀλλὰ δι' ἦν ἡ Ἀττικὴ ὥφελεῖται. ἔστι δὲ τῶν
χρημάτων ἀπὸ τῶν ἔνυμάχων ἡ πρόσοδος, καὶ ἔτι μείζων
ἔσται, εἰ ἴμᾶς καταστρέψουται· οὔτε γὰρ ἀποστίσεται
ἄλλος τα τε ἡμέτερα προσγενήσεται, πάθοιμέν τ' ἀν δεινό-
τερα ἢ οἱ πρὸν δουλεύοντες. βοηθησάντων δὲ ὑμῶν προθύμως
πόλιν τε προσλίψεσθε ναυτικὸν ἔχουσαν μέγα, οὐπερ ὑμῶν
μάλιστα προσδεῖ, καὶ Ἀθηναίους ῥᾶον καθαιρήσετε ὑφαι-
ροῦντες αὐτῶν τοὺς ἔνυμάχους (θρασύτερον γὰρ πᾶς τις
προσχωρήσεται), τίν τε αἰτίαν ἀποφεύξεσθε ἢν εἴχετε μὴ ιο-
βοηθεῖν τοῖς ἀφισταμένοις. ἢν δ' ἐλευθεροῦντες φαίνησθε,
τὸ κράτος τοῦ πολέμου βεβαιότερον ἔξετε.

14 Αἰσχυνθέντες οὖν τὰς τε τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἐς ὑμᾶς ἐλπίδας
καὶ Δίᾳ τὸν Ὀλύμπιον, ἐν οὐ τῷ ἵερῷ Ἰσα καὶ ἱκέται ἐσμέν,
ἐπαρμύνατε Μυτιληναῖοις ἔνυμαχοι γενόμενοι, καὶ μὴ προῆσθε 15
ἡμᾶς ἴδιον μὲν τὸν κύνδυνον τῶν σωμάτων παραβαλλομένους,
κοινὴν δὲ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ κατορθῶσαι ὡφελίαν ἅπασι δώσοντας,
ἔτι δὲ κοινοτέραν τὴν βλάβην, εἰ μὴ πεισθέντων ὑμῶν
2 σφαλησόμεθα. γίγνεσθε δὲ ἀνδρες οἴουσπερ ὑμᾶς οἵ τε
“Ἐλληνες ἀξιοῦσι καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον δέος βούλεται.” 20

15 Τοιαῦτα μὲν οἱ Μυτιληναῖοι ἐπον. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι
καὶ οἱ ἔνυμαχοι ἐπειδὴ ἥκουσταν, προσδεξάμενοι τὸν λόγον
ἔνυμάχους τε τοὺς Λεσβίους ἐποιήσαντο, καὶ τὴν ἐς τὴν
Ἀττικὴν ἐσβολὴν τοῦς τε ἔνυμάχους παροῦσι κατὰ τάχος
ἔφραζον λέναι ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν τοῖς δύο μέρεσιν ὡς ποιησό- 25
μενοι, καὶ αὐτοὶ πρῶτοι ἀφίκοντο, καὶ δικοὺς παρεσκεύαζον
τῶν νεῶν ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ ὡς ὑπεροίσουτες ἐκ τῆς Κορίνθου
ἐς τὴν πρὸς Ἀθήνας θάλασσαν καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ πεζῷ ἄμα
2 ἐπιόντες. καὶ οἱ μὲν προθύμως ταῦτα ἐπράσσον, οἱ δὲ
ἄλλοι ἔνυμαχοι βραδέως τε ἔννελέγοντο καὶ ἐν καρποῦ 30
16 ἔνγκομιδῇ ἥσαν καὶ ἀρρωστίᾳ τοῦ στρατεύειν. αἰσθόμενοι
δὲ αὐτὸὺς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διὰ κατάγνωσιν ἀσθενείας σφῶν

παρασκευαζομένους, δηλῶσαι βουλόμενοι ὅτι οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἔγνωκασιν ἀλλ' οἵοι τέ εἰσι μὴ κινοῦντες τὸ ἐπὶ Λέσβῳ ναυτικὸν καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου ἐπιὸν ῥᾳδίως ἀμύνεσθαι, ἐπλήρωσαν ναῦς ἑκατὸν ἐσβάντες αὐτοὶ τε πλὴν ἵππεων 5 καὶ πεντακοσιομεδίμυνων καὶ οἱ μέτοικοι, καὶ παρὰ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἀναγαγόντες ἐπίδειξίν τε ἐποιοῦντο καὶ ἀποβάσεις τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἥ δοκοίη αὐτοῖς. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὄρωντες 2 πολὺν τὸν παράλογον τά τε ὑπὸ τῶν Λεσβίων ῥηθέντα ἡγοῦντο οὐκ ἀληθῆ καὶ ἀπορα νομίζοντες, ὡς αὐτοῖς καὶ οἱ 10 ξύμμαχοι ἄμα οὐ παρῆσαν καὶ ἡγγέλλοντο καὶ αἱ περὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον τριάκοντα νῆσοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὴν περιοικίδα αὐτῶν πορθοῦσαι, ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου. ὕστερον δὲ ναυ- 3 τικὸν παρεσκεύαζον ὅτι πέμψουσι ἐς τὴν Λέσβον, καὶ κατὰ πόλεις ἐπήγγελλον τεσσαράκοντα νεῶν πλῆθος καὶ 15 ναύαρχον προσέταξαν Ἀλκίδαν, ὃς ἔμελλεν ἐπιπλεύσεσθαι. ἀνεχώρησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ταῦς ἑκατὸν ναυσίν, ἐπειδὴ 4 καὶ ἐκείνους εἶδον. [καὶ κατὰ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ὃν αἱ 17 νῆσοι ἐπλεον ἐν τοῖς πλεῖσται δὴ νῆσος ἄμ’ αὐτοῖς ἐνεργοὶ τοῦτον κάλλει ἐγένοντο, παραπλήσιαι δὲ καὶ ἔτι πλείους ἀρχομένου 20 τοῦ πολέμου. τίνι τε γὰρ Ἀττικὴν καὶ Εὐβοιαν καὶ Σαλα- 2 μῆνα ἑκατὸν ἐφύλασσον, καὶ περὶ Πελοπόννησον ἔτεραι ἑκατὸν ἡσαν, χωρὶς δὲ αἱ περὶ Ποτεῖδαιαν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις χωρίοις, ὥστε αἱ πᾶσαι ἄμα ἐγίγνοντο ἐν ἐνὶ θέρει διακόσιαι καὶ πεντήκοντα. καὶ τὰ χρήματα τοῦτο μάλιστα ὑπανήλωσε 3 25 μετὰ Ποτειδαίας. τίνι τε γὰρ Ποτεῖδαιαν διδραχμοὶ ὅπλῖται 4 ἐφρούρουν (αὐτῷ γὰρ καὶ ὑπηρέτῃ δραχμὴν ἐλάμβανε τῆς ἡμέρας), τρισχίλιοι μὲν οἱ πρῶτοι, ὃν οὐκ ἐλάσσους διεπολιόρκησαν, ἔξακόσιοι δὲ καὶ χίλιοι μετὰ Φορμίωνος, οἱ προαπῆλθον· νῆσος τε αἱ πᾶσαι τὸν αὐτὸν μισθὸν ἔφερον. 30 τὰ μὲν οὖν χρήματα οὔτως ὑπανηλώθη τὸ πρῶτον, καὶ νῆσοι τοσαῦται δὴ πλεῖσται ἐπληρώθησαν.]

Μυτιληναῖοι δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ὃν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι 18

- περὶ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἥσαν ἐπὶ Μήθυμναν ὡς προδιδομένην
 ἐστράτευσαν κατὰ γῆν αὐτοί τε καὶ οἱ ἐπίκουροι· καὶ
 προσβαλόντες τῇ πόλει, ἐπειδὴ οὐ προυχώρει ἥ προσεδέχοντο,
 ἀπῆλθον ἐπ' Ἀντίστης καὶ Πύρρας καὶ Ἐρέσου, καὶ κατα-
 στησάμενοι τὰ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι ταύταις βεβαιότερα καὶ 5
 2 τείχη κρατύναντες διὰ τάχους ἀπῆλθον ἐπ' οἴκου. ἐστρά-
 τευσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Μηθυμναῖοι ἀναχωρησάντων αὐτῶν ἐπ'
 Ἀντισταν· καὶ ἐκβοηθείας τινὸς γενομένης πληγέντες ὑπό¹⁷
 τε τῶν Ἀντισταίων καὶ τῶν ἐπικούρων ἀπέθανόν τε πολλοὶ
 3 καὶ ἀνεχώρησαν οἱ λοιποὶ κατὰ τάχος. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι 10
 πυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα, τούς τε Μυτιληναίους τῆς γῆς κρα-
 τοῦντας καὶ τοὺς σφετέρους στρατιώτας οὐχ ἴκανοὺς ὄντας
 εἴργειν, πέμπουσι περὶ τὸ φθιώπωρον ἥδη ἀρχόμενον Πάχητα
 4 τὸν Ἐπικούρου στρατηγὸν καὶ χιλίους δύπλίτας ἑαυτῶν. οἱ·
 δὲ αὐτέρεται πλεύσαντες τῶν νεῶν ἀφικνοῦνται καὶ περι- 15
 τειχίζουσι Μυτιλήνην ἐν κύκλῳ ἀπλῷ τείχει· φρούρια δ'
 5 ἔστιν ἥ ἐπὶ τῶν καρτερῶν ἐγκατῳδόμηται. καὶ ἥ μὲν
 Μυτιλήνη κατὰ κράτος ἥδη ἀμφοτέρωθεν καὶ ἐκ γῆς καὶ ἐκ
 θαλάσσης εἴργετο, καὶ ὁ χειμῶν ἤρχετο γίγνεσθαι.
- 19 Προσδεόμενοι δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι χρημάτων ἐς τὴν πολιορκίαν, 20
 καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐσενεγκόντες τότε πρῶτον ἐσφορὰν διακόσια τά-
 λαντα, ἐξέπεμψαν καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἔνυμμάχους ἀργυρολόγους
 2 ναῦς δώδεκα καὶ Λυσικλέα πέμπτον αὐτὸν στρατηγόν. ὁ δὲ
 ἄλλα τε ἡργυρολόγει καὶ περιέπλει, καὶ τῆς Καρίας ἐκ
 Μυοῦντος ἀναβὰς διὰ τοῦ Μαιάνδρου πεδίου μέχρι τοῦ 25
 Σανδίου λόφου, ἐπιθεμένων τῶν Καρῶν καὶ Ἀναιτῶν αὐτός
 τε διαφθείρεται καὶ τῆς ἄλλης στρατιᾶς πολλοί.
- 20 Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος οἱ Πλαταιῆς (ἔτι γὰρ ἐπολιορ-
 κοῦντο ὑπὸ τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Βοιωτῶν) ἐπειδὴ τῷ τε
 σίτῳ ἐπιλείποντι ἐπιέζοντο καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν οὐδεμίᾳ 30
 ἐλπὶς ἦν τιμωρίας οὐδὲ ἄλλη σωτηρία ἐφαίνετο, ἐπιβού-

17 ἥ recc.: οἱ vel οἱ codd. ἐγκατοικοδομεῖται Bloomfield: ἐγκατῳ-
 κοδόμητο Haase: ἐγκατῳκοδομεῖτο Poppe: ἐγκατῳκοδομήθη Bekker
 26 Σανδίος Meineke 30 ἐπιλείποντι Naber: ἐπιλιπόντι codd.

λεύοντιν αὐτοί τε καὶ Ἀθηναίων οἱ ἔνυμπολιορκούμενοι πρῶτον μὲν πάντες ἔξελθεῦν καὶ ὑπερβῆναι τὰ τείχη τῶν πολεμίων, ἦν δύνωνται βιάσασθαι, ἐσηγησαμένων τὴν πεῖραν αὐτοῖς Θεανέτου τε τοῦ Τολμίδου ἀνδρὸς μάντεως καὶ 5 Εὐπομπίδου τοῦ Δαιμάχου, ὃς καὶ ἐστρατήγει· ἔπειτα οἱ 2 μὲν ἡμίσεις ἀπώκυνησάν πως τὸν κίνδυνον μέγαν ἥγησάμενοι, ἐς δὲ ἄνδρας διακοσίους καὶ εἴκοσι μάλιστα ἐνέμειναν τῇ 3 ἔξοδῷ ἐθελούνται τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. κλίμακας ἐποιήσαντο ἵσας τῷ τείχει τῶν πολεμίων· ἔνυμετρήσαντο δὲ ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς 10 τῶν πλάνθων, ἥ ἔτυχε πρὸς σφᾶς οὐκ ἔξαληλιμμένον τὸ τείχος αὐτῶν. ἡριθμοῦντο δὲ πολλοὶ ἄμα τὰς ἐπιβολάς, καὶ ἔμελλον οἱ μὲν τινες ἀμαρτήσεσθαι οἱ δὲ πλείους τεύξεσθαι τοῦ ἀληθοῦς λογισμοῦ, ἄλλως τε καὶ πολλάκις ἀριθμοῦντες καὶ ἄμα οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχοντες, ἀλλὰ ῥᾳδίως καθορωμένου ἐς 15 δὲ ἐβούλοντο τοῦ τείχους. τὴν μὲν οὖν ἔνυμέτρησιν τῶν 4 κλιμάκων οὕτως ἔλαβον, ἐκ τοῦ πάχους τῆς πλάνθου εἰκάσαντες τὸ μέτρον. τὸ δὲ τείχος ἦν τῶν Πελοποννησίων 21 τοιόνδε τῇ οἰκοδομήσει. εἶχε μὲν δύο τοὺς περιβόλους, πρός τε Πλαταιῶν καὶ εἴ τις ἔξωθεν ἀπ' Ἀθηνῶν ἐπίοι, 20 διεῖχον δὲ οἱ περιβόλοι ἔκκαίδεκα πόδας μάλιστα ἀπ' ἀλλήλων. τὸ οὖν μεταξὺ τοῦτο [οἱ ἔκκαίδεκα πόδες] τοῖς φύλαξιν 2 οἰκήματα διανενεμημένα ὡκοδόμητο, καὶ ἦν ἔνυμεχῆ ὥστε ἐν φαινεσθαι τείχος παχὺ ἐπάλξεις ἔχον ἀμφοτέρωθεν. διὰ 3 δέκα δὲ ἐπάλξεων πύργοι ἦσαν μεγάλοι καὶ ἴσοπλατεῖς τῷ 25 τείχει, διήκοντες ἐς τε τὸ ἔσω μέτωπον αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ αὐτοὶ καὶ τὸ ἔξω, ὥστε πάροδον μὴ εἶναι παρὰ πύργον, ἀλλὰ δι' αὐτῶν μέσων διῆσαν. τὰς οὖν νύκτας, ὅπότε χειμῶν εἴη 4 νοτερός, τὰς μὲν ἐπάλξεις ἀπέλειπον, ἐκ δὲ τῶν πύργων ὅντων δι' ὀλίγους καὶ ἄνωθεν στεγανῶν τὴν φυλακὴν ἐποιοῦντο. 30 τὸ μὲν οὖν τείχος ὡς περιεφρουροῦντο οἱ Πλαταιῆς τοιοῦτον ἦν. οἱ δ', ἐπειδὴ παρεσκεύαστο αὐτοῖς, τηρήσαντες νύκτα 22

3 ἐσηγησαμένου ΑΒΕΦΜ γρ. G 5 Εὐπομπίδου Ε : Εὐπολπίδου
cett. 21 οἱ ἔκκαίδεκα πόδες non vertit Valla, secl. Herwerden
22 ξυνοχὴ C [G] 26 post καὶ add. ἐς Φ¹ Μ

χειμέριον ὕδατι καὶ ἀνέμῳ καὶ ἄμ' ἀσέληνον ἐξῆσαν· ἡγοῦντο
 δὲ οἵπερ καὶ τῆς πείρας αἴτιοι ἦσαν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν
 τάφρον διέβησαν ἢ περιεῖχεν αὐτούς, ἔπειτα προσέμειξαν
 τῷ τείχει τῶν πολεμίων λαθόντες τοὺς φύλακας, ἀνὰ τὸ
 σκοτεινὸν μὲν οὐ προϊδόντων αὐτῶν, ψόφῳ δὲ τῷ ἐκ τοῦ 5
 προσιέναι αὐτοὺς ἀντιπαταγοῦντος τοῦ ἀρέμου οὐ κατακου-
 σάντων· ἅμα δὲ καὶ διέχοντες πολὺ ἦσαν, ὅπως τὰ ὅπλα
 μὴ κρουόμενα πρὸς ἄλληλα αἰσθησιν παρέχοι. Ἠσαν δὲ
 εὐσταλεῖς τε τῇ ὁπλίσει καὶ τὸν ἀριστερὸν μόνον πάρις
 3 ὑποδεδεμένοι ἀσφαλείας ἔνεκα τῆς πρὸς τὸν πηλόν. κατὰ 10
 οὖν μεταπύργιον προσέμισγον πρὸς τὰς ἐπάλξεις, εἰδότες
 ὅτι ἐρῆμοί εἰσι, πρῶτον μὲν οἱ τὰς κλίμακας φέροντες, καὶ
 προσέθεσαν· ἔπειτα ψιλοὶ δώδεκα ξύν ξιφιδίῳ καὶ θώρακι
 ἀνέβαινον, ὃν ἥγειτο Ἀμρέας ὁ Κοροίβον καὶ πρῶτος ἀνέβη·
 μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ ἐπόμενοι ἐξ ἐφ' ἐκάτερον τῶν πύργων 15
 ἀνέβαινον. ἔπειτα ψιλοὶ ἄλλοι μετὰ τούτους ξύν δορατίοις
 ἔχώρουν, οὓς ἔτεροι κατόπιν τὰς ἀσπίδας ἔφερον, ὅπως
 ἐκεῖνοι ρᾶσιν προσβαίνοιεν, καὶ ἔμελλον δώσειν ὅπτε πρὸς
 4 τοῖς πολεμίοις εἶν. ὡς δὲ ἄνω πλείους ἐγένοντο, ἤσθοντο
 οἱ ἐκ τῶν πύργων φύλακες· κατέβαλε γάρ τις τῶν Πλαταιῶν 20
 ἀντιλαμβανόμενος ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπάλξεων κεραμίδα, ἢ πεσοῦσα
 5 δοῦπον ἐποίησεν. καὶ αὐτίκα βοὴ ἦν, τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδον
 ἐπὶ τὸ τείχος ὥρμησεν· οὐ γὰρ ἥδει ὅτι ἦν τὸ δεινὸν
 σκοτεινῆς νυκτὸς καὶ χειμῶνος ὄντος, καὶ ἅμα οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει
 τῶν Πλαταιῶν ὑπολελειμμένοι ἐξελθόντες προσέβαλον τῷ 25
 τείχει τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἐκ τοῦμπαλιν ἢ οἱ ἄνδρες αὐτῶν
 ὑπερέβαινον, ὅπως ἥκιστα πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὸν νοῦν ἔχοιεν.
 6 ἐθορυβοῦντο μὲν οὖν κατὰ χώραν μένοντες, βοηθεῦν δὲ
 οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμα ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτῶν φυλακῆς, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀπόρῳ ἦσαν
 7 εἰκάσαι τὸ γιγνόμενον. καὶ οἱ τριακόσιοι αὐτῶν, οὓς ἐτέ- 30

9 πόδα μόνον Α Β Ε Φ 14 ποίβου—c. 34. 2 καταφυγόντες suppl.
 f fol. lxxxiii-lxxxv 22 δοῦπον Α: ψόφου cett. 25 προσ-
 ἐβαλλον C 26 ἢ Cf: ἢ cett. [G] 29 ἑαυτῶν Cf: αὐτῶν vel
 αὐτῶν cett. [G]

τακτο παραβοηθεῦν εἴ τι δέοι, ἔχώρουν ἔξω τοῦ τείχους πρὸς τὴν βοήν. φρυκτοί τε ἦροντο ἐς τὰς Θήβας πολέμιοι· παρανῖσχον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Πλαταιῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ 8 τείχους φρυκτοὺς πολλοὺς πρότερον παρεσκευασμένους ἐς 5 αὐτὸ τοῦτο, ὥπως ἀσφαφῆ τὰ σημεῖα τῆς φρυκτωρίας τοῖς πολεμίοις ἥ καὶ μὴ βοηθοῦεν, ἄλλο τι νομίσαντες τὸ γυγρό- μενον εἶναι ἥ τὸ ὄν, πρὶν σφῶν οἱ ἄνδρες οἱ ἔξιόντες διαφύγοιεν καὶ τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦ ἀντιλάβοιτο. οἱ δ' ὑπερ- 23 βαίνοντες τῶν Πλαταιῶν ἐν τούτῳ, ὡς οἱ πρῶτοι αὐτῶν 10 ἀνεβεβήκεσαν καὶ τοῦ πύργου ἔκατέρου τοὺς φύλακας διαφθείραντες ἐκεκρατήκεσαν, τάς τε διόδους τῶν πύργων ἐνστάντες αὐτοὶ ἐφύλασσον μηδένα δι' αὐτῶν ἐπιβοηθεῦν, καὶ κλίμακας προσθέντες ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους τοῖς πύργοις καὶ ἐπαναβιβάσαντες ἄνδρας πλείους, οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων 15 τοὺς ἐπιβοηθοῦντας καὶ κάτωθεν καὶ ἀνωθεν εἰργον βάλλον- τες, οἱ δ' ἐν τούτῳ οἱ πλείους πολλὰς προσθέντες κλίμακας ἅμα καὶ τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἀπώσαντες διὰ τοῦ μεταπυργίου ὑπερέβαων. δὲ διακομιζόμενος ἀιεὶ ὕστατο ἐπὶ τοῦ 2 χείλους τῆς τάφρου καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ἐτόξευόν τε καὶ ἡκόντιζον, 20 εἴ τις παραβοηθῶν παρὰ τὸ τείχος κωλυτῆς γίγνοιτο τῆς διαβάσεως. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντες διεπεπεραίωντο, οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν 3 πύργων χαλεπῶς οἱ τελευταῖοι καταβαίνοντες ἔχώρουν ἐπὶ τὴν τάφρον, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ τριακόσιοι αὐτοῖς ἐπεφέροντο λαμπάδας ἔχοντες. οἱ μὲν οὖν Πλαταιῆς ἐκείνους ἔώρων 4 25 μᾶλλον ἐκ τοῦ σκότους ἐστῶτες ἐπὶ τοῦ χείλους τῆς τάφρου, καὶ ἐτόξευόν τε καὶ ἐστοκόντιζον ἐς τὰ γυμνά, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐν τῷ ἀφανεῖ ὄντες ἥστον διὰ τὰς λαμπάδας καθεωρῶντο, ὥστε φθάνοντι τῶν Πλαταιῶν καὶ οἱ ὕστατοι διαβάντες τὴν τάφρον, χαλεπῶς δὲ καὶ βιαίως· κρύσταλλός τε γὰρ ἐπεπίγειος 5 30 οὐ βέβαιος ἐν αὐτῇ ὥστ' ἐπελθεῖν, ἀλλ' οἷος ἀπηλιώτου [ἢ βορέου] ὑδατώδης μᾶλλον, καὶ ἡ νὺξ τοιούτῳ ἀνέμῳ ὑπονει- φομένη πολὺ τὸ ὑδωρ ἐν αὐτῇ ἐπεποιήκει, ὁ μόλις ὑπερ-

έχουτες ἐπεραιώθησαν. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ ἡ διάφευξις αὐτοῖς
 24 μᾶλλον διὰ τοῦ χειμῶνος τὸ μέγεθος. ὁρμήσαντες δὲ ἀπὸ
 τῆς τάφρου οἱ Πλαταιῆς ἔχώρουν ἄθροι τὴν ἐς Θήβας
 φέρουσαν ὅδόν, ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχουτες τὸ τοῦ Ἀνδροκράτους ἥρων,
 νομίζοντες ἥκιστ' ⟨ἄν⟩ σφᾶς ταύτην αὐτὸὺς ὑποτοπῆσαι 5
 τραπέσθαι τὴν ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους· καὶ ἂμα ἔώρων τοὺς
 Πελοποννησίους τὴν πρὸς Κιθαιρῶνα καὶ Δρυὸς κεφαλὰς
 2 τὴν ἐπ' Ἀθηνῶν φέρουσαν μετὰ λαμπάδων διώκοντας. καὶ
 ἐπὶ μὲν ἔξ ἡ ἐπτὰ σταδίους οἱ Πλαταιῆς τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν Θηβῶν
 ἔχώρησαν, ἐπειδὸν ὑποστρέψαντες ἥσαν τὴν πρὸς τὸ ὄρος 10
 φέρουσαν ὅδὸν ἐς Ἐρύθρας καὶ Ύσιάς, καὶ λαβόμενοι τῶν
 ὁρῶν διαφεύγονταν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἄνδρες δώδεκα καὶ δια-
 κόσιοι ἀπὸ πλειόνων· εἰσὶ γάρ τινες αὐτῶν οἱ ἀπετράποντο
 ἐς τὴν πόλιν πρὶν ὑπερβαίνειν, εἰς δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ ἔξω τάφρῳ
 3 τοξότης ἐλήφθη. οἱ μὲν οὖν Πελοποννήσιοι κατὰ χώραν 15
 ἐγένοντο τῆς βοηθείας πανσάμενοι οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως
 Πλαταιῆς τῶν μὲν γεγενημένων εἰδότες οὐδέν, τῶν δὲ
 ἀποτραπομένων σφίσιν ἀπαγγειλάντων ὡς οὐδεὶς περίεστι,
 κήρυκα ἐκπέμψαντες, ἐπεὶ ἥμέρα ἐγένετο, ἐσπένδοντο ἀνα-
 ρεστα τοῖς νεκροῖς, μαθόντες δὲ τὸ ἀληθὲς ἐπαύσαντο. 20
 οἱ μὲν δὴ τῶν Πλαταιῶν ἄνδρες οὕτως ὑπερβάντες ἐσώ-
 θησαν.

25 Ἐκ δὲ τῆς Λακεδαιμονος τοῦ αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος τελευτῶντος
 ἐκπέμπεται Σάλαιθος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ἐς Μυτιλήνην τριήρει.
 καὶ πλεύσας ἐς Πύρραν καὶ ἔξ αὐτῆς πεζῇ κατὰ χαράδραν 25
 τινά, ἦν ὑπερβατὸν ἦν τὸ περιτείχισμα, διαλαθὼν ἐσέρχεται
 ἐς τὴν Μυτιλήνην, καὶ ἔλεγε τοῖς προέδροις ὅτι ἐσβολή τε
 ἄμα ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἔσται καὶ αἱ τεσσαράκοντα νῆες παρ-
 ἔσονται ἂς ἔδει βοηθῆσαι αὐτοῖς, προαποπεμφθῆναι τε αὐτὸς
 2 τούτων ἔνεκα καὶ ἄμα τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιμελησόμενος. καὶ οἱ 30
 μὲν Μυτιληναῖοι ἐθάρσουν τε καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους
 ἥσσον εἶχον τὴν γνώμην ὕστε ἔνυμβαίνειν. ὃ τε χειμῶν

έτελεύτα οὗτος, καὶ τέταρτον ἔτος τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα τῷδε
δὲ Θουκυδίδης ξυνέγραψεν.

Τοῦ δὲ ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι ἐπειδὴ τὰς 26
ἐς τὴν Μυτιλήνην δύο καὶ τεσταράκοντα ναῦς ἀπέστειλαν
5 ἄρχοντα Ἀλκίδαν, ὃς ἦν αὐτοῖς ναύαρχος, προστάξαντες,
αὐτὸι ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐσέβαλον, ὅπως οἱ
Ἀθηναῖοι ἀμφοτέρωθεν θορυβούμενοι ἥσσον ταῦς ναυσὶν ἐς
τὴν Μυτιλήνην καταπλεούσαις ἐπιβοηθήσωσι. ἦγεντο δὲ 2
τῆς ἐσβολῆς ταύτης Κλεομένης ὑπὲρ Παυσανίου τοῦ Πλει-
10 στοάνακτος νίεος βασιλέως ὄντος καὶ νεωτέρου ἔτι, πατρὸς
δὲ ἀδελφὸς ὁν. ἐδήλωσαν δὲ τῆς Ἀττικῆς τά τε πρότερον 3
τετμημένα [καὶ] εἴ τι ἐβεβλαστήκει καὶ ὅσα ἐν ταῖς πρὶν
ἐσβολαῖς παρελέλειπτο· καὶ ἡ ἐσβολὴ αὕτη χαλεπωτάτῃ
ἐγένετο τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις μετὰ τὴν δευτέραν. ἐπιμένοντες 4
15 γὰρ αἰεὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Λέσβου τι πεύσεσθαι τῶν νεῶν ἔργον ὡς
ἴδη πεπεραιωμένων ἐπεξῆλθον τὰ πολλὰ τέμνοντες. ὡς δὲ
οὐδὲν ἀπέβαινεν αὐτοῖς ὃν προσεδέχοντο καὶ ἐπελελοίπει ὁ
σῖτος, ἀνεχώρησαν καὶ διελύθησαν κατὰ πόλεις.

Οἱ δὲ Μυτιληναῖοι ἐν τούτῳ, ὡς αἱ τε ἵησ αὐτοῖς οὐχ 27
20 ἥκουν ἀπὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἀλλὰ ἐνεχρόνιζον καὶ ὁ σῖτος
ἐπελελοίπει, ἀναγκάζονται ξυμβαίνειν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους
διὰ τάδε. ὁ Σάλαιθος καὶ αὐτὸς οὐ προσδεχόμενος ἔτι τὰς 2
ναῦς ὀπλίζει τὸν δῆμον πρότερον ψιλὸν ὄντα ὡς ἐπεξιῶν
τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις· οἱ δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἔλαβον ὅπλα, οὔτε ἥκροωντο 3
25 ἔτι τῶν ἀρχόντων, κατὰ ξυλλόγους τε γιγνόμενοι ἡ τὸν
σῖτον ἐκέλευνον τοὺς δυνατοὺς φέρειν ἐς τὸ φανερὸν καὶ
διανέμειν ἀπασιν, ἡ αὐτοὶ ξυγχωρήσαντες πρὸς Ἀθηναίους
ἔφασαν παραδώσειν τὴν πόλιν. γνόντες δὲ οἱ ἐν τοῖς 28
πράγμασιν οὕτ' ἀποκωλύειν δυνατοὶ ὄντες, εἴ τ' ἀπομονωθή-
30 σονται τῆς ξυμβάσεως κινδυνεύσοντες, ποιοῦνται κοιωῆ ὁμο-
λογίαν πρὸς τε Πάχητα καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, ὥστε Ἀθηναίοις

4 δύο καὶ secl. Krüger
11 prius δὲ] δὴ Stahl

5 ἄρχοντα Stephanus: ἔχοντα codd.
12 καὶ secl. L. Dindorf

29 ἀποκωλύειν

Stahl: ἀποκωλύσειν codd.

μὲν ἐξεῖναι βουλεῦσαι περὶ Μυτιληναίων δποῖον ἄν τι βούλωνται καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐς τὴν πόλιν δέχεσθαι αὐτούς, πρεσβείαν δὲ ἀποστέλλειν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας Μυτιληναίους περὶ ἑαυτῶν ἐν ὅσφι δ' ἀν πάλιν ἔλθωσι, Πάχητα μήτε δῆσαι Μυτιληναίων μηδένα μητὲ ἀνδραποδίσαι μήτε ἀποκτεῖναι. ἡ μὲν γένετο ἔν μιβασις αὕτη ἐγένετο, οἱ δὲ πράξαντες πρὸς τὸν Λακεδαιμονίους μάλιστα τῶν Μυτιληναίων περιδεεῖς ὅντες, ὡς ἡ στρατιὰ ἐσῆλθεν, οὐκ ἡνέσχοντο, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ὅμως καθίζονται· Πάχης δ' ἀναστήσας αὐτοὺς ὥστε μὴ ἀδικῆσαι, κατατίθεται ἐς Τέρεδον μέχρι οὗ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τι δόξῃ. 10 πέμψας δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀντισσαν τριήρεις προσεκτήσατο καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ περὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον καθίστατο ἢ αὐτῷ ἐδόκει.

29 Οἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς τεσσαράκοντα ναυσὶ Πελοποννήσιοι, οὓς ἔδει ἐν τάχει παραγενέσθαι, πλέοντες περί τε αὐτὴν τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐνδιέτριψαν καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἄλλον πλοῦν 15 σχολαῖοι κομισθέντες τὸν μὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Ἀθηναίους λανθάνονται, πρὸν δὴ τῇ Δήλῳ ἐσχον, προσμείξαντες δ' ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῇ Ἰκάρῳ καὶ Μυκόνῳ πυνθάνονται πρώτον ὅτι ἡ Μυτιλήνη ἑάλωκεν. βουλόμενοι δὲ τὸ σαφὲς εἰδέναι κατέπλευσαν ἐς Ἐμβατον τῆς Ἐρυθραίας· ἡμέραι δὲ μάλιστα ἵσταν τῇ Μυτιλήνῃ ἑαλωκυίᾳ ἐπτὰ ὅτε ἐς τὸ Ἐμβατον κατέπλευσαν. πυθόμενοι δὲ τὸ σαφὲς ἐβουλέύοντο ἐκ τῶν παρόντων, καὶ ἐλεξεῖν αὐτοῖς Τευτίαπλος ἀνὴρ Ἡλεῖος τάδε.

30 Ἄλκιδα καὶ Πελοποννησίων ὅσοι πάρεσμεν ἄρχοντες τῆς στρατιᾶς, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ πλεῦν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ Μυτιλήνην πρὸν 25 ἐκπύστους γενέσθαι, ὥσπερ ἔχομεν. κατὰ γὰρ τὸ εἰκὸς ἀιδρῶν. νεωστὶ πόλιω ἐχόντων πολὺ τὸ ἀφύλακτον εὑρήσομεν, κατὰ μὲν θάλασσαν καὶ πάνυ, ἢ ἐκεῦνοι τε ἀνέλπιστοι ἐπιγενέσθαι ἀν τινα σφίσι πολέμιον καὶ ἡμῶν ἡ ἀλκὴ τυγχάνει μάλιστα οὖσα εἰκὸς δὲ καὶ τὸ πεζὸν αὐτῶν κατ' οἰκίας 30 ἀμελέστερον ὡς κεκρατηκότων διεσπάρθαι. εἰ οὖν προσπέσοιμεν ἄφυν τε καὶ νυκτός, ἐλπίζω μετὰ τῶν ἐνδον, εἴ τις

ἄρα ἡμῶν ἐστὶν ὑπόλοιπος εὖνος, καταληφθῆναι ἀν τὰ πράγματα. καὶ μὴ ἀποκνήσωμεν τὸν κύνδυνον, νομίσαντες 4 οὐκ ἄλλο τι εἴναι τὸ κενὸν τοῦ πολέμου ἢ τὸ τοιοῦτον, ὃ εἴ τις στρατηγὸς ἐν τε αὐτῷ φυλάσσοιτο καὶ τοῖς πολεμοῖς 5 ἐνορῶν ἐπιχειρούῃ, πλεῖστ’ ἀν δρθοῦτο?

‘Ο μὲν τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν οὐκ ἐπειθε τὸν Ἀλκίδαν. ἄλλοι 31 δέ τινες τῶν ἀπ’ Ἰωνίας φυγάδων καὶ οἱ Λέσβιοι <οἱ> ἔνυμπλέοντες παρήνοντο, ἐπειδὴ τοῦτον τὸν κύνδυνον φοβεῖται, τῶν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ πόλεων καταλαβεῖν τινὲς ἢ Κύμην τὴν Αἰολίδα, 10 ὅπως ἐκ πόλεως δρμώμενοι τὴν Ἰωνίαν ἀποστήσωσιν (ἐλπίδα δ’ εἴναι οὐδενὶ γὰρ ἀκοντίως ἀφίχθαι) καὶ τὴν πρόσοδον ταύτην μεγίστην οὖσαν Ἀθηναίων [ἢν] ὑφέλωσι, καὶ ἂμα, ἢν ἐφορμῶσι σφίσιν, αὐτοῖς δαπάνη γίγνηται πείσειν τε οἰεσθαι καὶ Πισσούθην ὥστε ἔνυμπολεμεῖν. ὁ δὲ οὐδὲ 2 15 ταῦτα ἐνεδέχετο, ἀλλὰ τὸ πλεῖστον τῆς γνώμης εἶχεν, ἐπειδὴ τῆς Μυτιλήνης ὑστερήκει, ὅτι τάχιστα τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ πάλι προσμεῖξαι. ἄρας δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ἐμβάτου παρέπλει, καὶ 32 προστρχὼν Μυοννήσῳ τῇ Τηλίων τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους οὖς κατὰ πλοῦν εἰλήφει ἀπέσφαξε τοὺς πολλούς. καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἐφεσον 20 καθορμισαμένου αὐτοῦ Σαμίων τῶν ἐξ Ἀναίων ἀφικόμενοι πρέσβεις ἐλεγον οὐ καλῶς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐλευθεροῦν αὐτόν, εἰ ἄνδρας διέφθειρεν οὕτε χεῖρας ἀνταιρομένους οὕτε πολεμίους, Ἀθηναίων δὲ ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης ἔνυμμάχους· εἴ τε μὴ παύσεται, δλίγους μὲν αὐτὸν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐσ φιλίαν προσ- 25 ἀξεσθαι, πολὺ δὲ πλείους τῶν φίλων πολεμίους ἔξει. καὶ 3 δό μὲν ἐπεισθῇ τε καὶ Χίων ἄνδρας ὅσους εἶχεν ἔτι ἀφῆκε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τινάς· δρῶντες γὰρ τὰς ναῦς οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὐκ ἔφευγον, ἀλλὰ προσεχώρουν μᾶλλον ὡς Ἀττικαῖς καὶ ἐλπίδα οὐδὲ τὴν ἐλαχίστην εἶχον μή ποτε Ἀθηναίων τῆς 30 θαλάσσης κρατούντων ναῦς Πελοποννησίων ἐσ Ἰωνίαν παραβαλεῖν. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ἐφέσου ὁ Ἀλκίδας ἐπλει κατὰ τάχος 33

3 κενὸν C M: καινὸν cett.: καινὸν Steup 7 οἱ add. Madvig
11 ἀκοντίψ Lindau 12 ἢν secl. Herwerden: ὦν Dobree ἀφέλωσι A B
13 σφίσιν αὐτοῖς δαπάνη G M Schol.: αὐτοῖς (αὐτοὺς C E) δαπάνη σφίσι cett.

καὶ φυγὴν ἐποιεῖτο· ὥφθη γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς Σαλαμίας καὶ Παράλου ἔτι περὶ Κλάρον ὁρμῶν (αἱ δὲ ἀπ' Ἀθηνῶν ἔτυχοι πλέονται), καὶ δεδιὼς τὴν δίωξιν ἔπλει διὰ τοῦ πελάγους ὡς γῇ ἕκουσιος οὐ σχήσων ἄλλῃ ἢ Πελοποννήσῳ.

- 2 Τῷ δὲ Πάχητι καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἥλθε μὲν καὶ ἀπὸ 5 τῆς Ἐρυθραίας ἀγγελία, ἀφικεῖτο δὲ καὶ παταχόθει· ἀτειχίστου γὰρ οὕσης τῆς Ἰωνίας μέγα τὸ δέος ἐγέρετο μὴ παραπλέοντες οἱ Πελοποιηῆσιοι, εἰ καὶ ὡς μὴ διεροῦντο μένειν, πορθῶσιν ἀμα προσπίπτοιτες τὰς πόλεις. αὐτάγγελοι δὲ αὐτὸν ἰδοῦσι τὴν τῆς Κλάρων ἢ τε Πάραλος καὶ ἡ Σαλαμία 10 3 ἔφρασαν. ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ σπουδῆς ἐποιεῖτο τὴν δίωξιν· καὶ μέχρι μὲν Πάτμου τῆς ιῆσου ἐπεδίωξεν, ὡς δὲ οὐκέτι ἐν καταλήψει ἐφαίνετο, ἐπαιεχώρει. κέρδος δὲ ἐγόμιστει, ἐπειδὴ οὐ μετεώροις περιέτυχει, ὅτι οὐδαμοῦ ἐγκαταληφθεῖσαι ἦναγκάσθησαν στρατόπεδόν τε ποιεῖσθαι καὶ φυλακὴν σφίσι 15 34 καὶ ἐφόρμησιν παρασχεῖν. παραπλέων δὲ πάλιν ἔσχε καὶ ἐς Νότιον τὸ Κολοφωνίων, οὗ κατώκηντο Κολοφώνιοι τῆς ἄνω πόλεως ἑαλωκύνιας ὑπὸ Ἰταμάνους καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων κατὰ στάσιν ἰδίαν ἐπαχθέντων· ἐάλω δὲ μάλιστα αὗτη ὅτε ἡ δευτέρα Πελοποννησίων ἐπβολὴ ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐγίγνετο. 20 2 ἐν οὖν τῷ Νοτίῳ οἱ καταφυγόιτες καὶ κατοικήσατες αὐτόθι αὐθις στασιάσαντες, οἱ μὲν παρὰ Πισπούθον ἐπικούρους Ἀρκάδων τε καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπαγαγόμενοι ἐν διατειχίσματι εἶχον, καὶ τῷ ἐκ τῆς ἄγρω πόλεως Κολοφωνίων οἱ μηδίσαντες ξυρεσελθόιτες ἐπολίτευον, οἱ δὲ ὑπεξελθόιτες 25 3 τούτους καὶ ὄντες φυγάδες τὸν Πάχητα ἐπάγονται. ὁ δὲ προκαλεσάμενος ἐς λόγους Ἰππίαν τῶν ἐν τῷ διατειχίσματι Ἀρκάδων ἄρχοντα, ὥστε, ἵνα μηδὲν ἀρέσκοντα λέγῃ, πάλιν αὐτὸν καταστήσειν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος σῶι καὶ ὑγιᾶ, δ μὲν ἐξῆλθε παρ' αὐτόν, δ ὁ ἐκεῦον μὲν ἐν φυλακῇ ἀδέσμῳ εἶχει, αὐτὸς 30 δὲ προσβαλὼν τῷ τειχίσματι ἐξαπιναίως καὶ οὐ προσδεχο-

12 Πάτμου recc. (coniecit Schol.): Λάτμου codd.
Krüger 23 ἐπαγαγόμενοι Krüger: ἐπαγόμενοι codd.
Classen: τὸν codd. 29 μὲν f G M: δ' cett.

19 ἰδίᾳ
27 τῶν

μένων αἰρεῖ, τούς τε Ἀρκάδας καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ὅσοι
ἐιῆσαν διαφθείρει· καὶ τὸν Ἰππίαν ὑστερον ἐσαγαγὼν ὥσπερ
ἐσπείσατο, ἐπειδὴ ἔνδον ἦν, ξυλλαμβάνει καὶ κατατοξεύει.
Κολοφωνίοις δὲ Νότιον παραδίωσι πλὴν τῶν μηδισάντων. 4
5 καὶ ὑστερον Ἀθηναῖοι οἰκιστὰς πέμψαντες κατὰ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν
γόμους κατώκισαν τὸ Νότιον, ξυναγαγόντες πάντας ἐκ τῶν
πόλεων, εἴ πού τις ἦν Κολοφωνίων.

‘Ο δὲ Πάχης ἀφικόμενος ἐς τὴν Μυτιλήνην τίν τε Πύρραν 35
καὶ Ἐρεσον παρεστήσατο, καὶ Σάλαιθον λαβὼν ἐν τῇ πόλει
τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον κεκρυμμένον ἀποπέμπει ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας
καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Τενέδου Μυτιληναίων ἄνδρας ἅμα οὓς κατέ-
θετο καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος αὐτῷ αἴτιος ἐδόκει εἶναι τῆς ἀπο-
στάσεως ἀποπέμπει δὲ καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς τὸ πλέον, τοὺς 2
δὲ λοιποὺς ὑπομένων καθίστατο τὰ περὶ τὴν Μυτιλήνην καὶ
15 τὴν ἄλλην Λέσβον ἢ αὐτῷ ἐδόκει. ἀφικομένων δὲ τῶν 36
ἄνδρων καὶ τοῦ Σαλαίθον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν μὲν Σάλαιθον
εὐθὺς ἀπέκτειναν, ἔστιν ἡ παρεχόμενον τά τ’ ἄλλα καὶ ἀπὸ
Πλαταιῶν (ἔτι γὰρ ἐπολιορκοῦντο) ἀπάξειν Πελοποννησίους·
περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν γνώμας ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ ὑπὸ δργῆς ἔδοξεν 2
20 αὐτοῖς οὐ τοὺς παρόντας μόνον ἀποκτεῖναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς
ἄπαντας Μυτιληναίους ὅσοι ἡβῶσι, παιᾶς δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας
ἀνδραποδίσται, ἐπικαλοῦντες τὴν τε ἄλλην ἀπόστασιν ὅτι οὐκ
ἀρχόμενοι ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐποιήσαντο, καὶ προσξυνελάβοντο
οὐκ ἐλάχιστον τῆς δρμῆς αἱ Πελοποννησίων οἵτε ἐς Ιωνίαν
25 ἐκείνοις βοηθοὶ τολμήσασαι παρακινδυνεῦσαι· οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ
βραχείας διανοίας ἐδόκουν τὴν ἀπόστασιν ποιήσασθαι.
πέμπουσιν οὖν τριήρη ὡς Πάχητα ἄγγελον τῶν δεδογμένων, 3
κατὰ τάχος κελεύοντες διαχρίσασθαι Μυτιληναίους. καὶ 4
τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ μετάνοιά τις εὐθὺς ἦν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀναλογισμὸς
30 ωμὸν τὸ βούλευμα καὶ μέγα ἐγνῶσθαι, πόλιν ὅλην διαφθεῖραι
μᾶλλον ἢ οὐ τοὺς αἰτίους. ὡς δ’ ἥσθοντο τοῦτο τῶν 5

17 post ἀπὸ add. τῶν c (τὸ C) G 22 post ἀπόστασιν add. καὶ
Classen 23 προσξυνελάβοντο C G γρ. B F: προσξυνεβάλετο cett.
28 post τάχος distingui potest

Μυτιληναίων οἱ παρόντες πρέσβεις καὶ οἱ αὐτοῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἔνυμπράσπορτες, παρεσκεύασαν τοὺς ἐν τέλει ὥστε αὖθις γρώματα προθεῖναι· καὶ ἔπεισαν ῥῆμα, διότι καὶ ἐκείνοις ἔιδηλον ἦν βουλόμενον τὸ πλέον τῶν πολιτῶν αὖθις 6 τινας σφίσιν ἀποδοῦναι βουλεύσασθαι. καταστάσης δ' 5 εὐθὺς ἐκκλησίας ἄλλαι τε γυναικαὶ ἀφ' ἐκάστων ἐλέγοντο καὶ Κλέων ὁ Κλεινέτον, ὅσπερ καὶ τὴν προτέραν ἐνευκήκει ὥστε ἀποκτεῖναι, ὡν καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα βιαιότατος τῶν πολιτῶν τῷ τε δήμῳ παρὰ πολὺ ἐν τῷ τότε πιθανώτατος, παρελθὼν αὖθις ἔλεγε τοιάδε.

37 ‘Πολλάκις μὲν ἵδη ἔγωγε καὶ ἄλλοτε ἔγνων δημοκρατίαν ὅτι ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν ἑτέρων ἀρχειν, μάλιστα δ' ἐν τῇ νῦν 2 ὑμετέρᾳ περὶ Μυτιληναίων μεταμελείᾳ. διὰ γὰρ τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν ἀδεὲς καὶ ἀνεπιβούλευτον πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἔνυμάχους τὸ αὐτὸν ἔχετε, καὶ ὅτι ἀνὴρ λόγῳ πεισθέντες ὑπ’ 15 αὐτῶν ἀμάρτητε ἢ οἰκτῷ ἐνδῶτε, οὐκ ἐπικινδύνως ἡγεῖσθε ἐς ὑμᾶς καὶ οὐκ ἐς τὴν τῶν ἔνυμάχων χάριν μαλακίζεσθαι, οὐ σκοποῦντες ὅτι τυραννίδα ἔχετε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ πρὸς ἐπιβούλευοντας αὐτοὺς καὶ ἄκοντας ἀρχομένους, οὐ οὐκ ἐξ ὧν ἀντίχαρίζησθε βλαπτόμενοι αὐτοὶ ἀκροῶνται ὑμῶν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν 20 3 ἀντίσχινοι μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ ἐκείνων εὐνοίᾳ περιγέρησθε. πάντων δὲ δεινότατον εἰ βέβαιον ἡμῖν μηδεὶς καθεστήξει ὧν ἀν δόξῃ πέρι, μηδὲ γνωσόμεθα ὅτι χείροσιν ιόμοις ἀκινήτοις χρωμένη πόλις κρείσσων ἐστὶν ἢ καλῶς ἔχουσιν ἀκύροις, ἀμαθία τε μετὰ σωφροσύνης ὠφελιμώτερον ἢ δεξιότης μετὰ ἀκολασίας, 25 οἵ τε φαυλότεροι τῶν ἀνθρώπων πρὸς τοὺς ἔνυετατέρους ὡς 4 ἐπὶ τὸ πλέον ἄμειγον οἰκοῦσι τὰς πόλεις. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῷ τε ιόμων σοφώτεροι βούλονται φαίνεσθαι τῶν τε αἰεὶ λεγομένων ἐς τὸ κοινὸν περιγίγνεσθαι, ὡς ἐν ἄλλοις μείζοσιν οὐκ ἀν δηλώσαντες τὴν γρώμην, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου τὰ πολλὰ 30 σφάλλουσι τὰς πόλεις· οἱ δ' ἀπιστοῦντες τῇ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔνυέσει

3 προθεῖναι f: προσθεῖναι codd. 5 καταστάσης δ'] δ' om. C : καὶ καταστάσης c G 13 ὑμετέρᾳ A E F M : ὑμέρᾳ B [G] 19 οἱ om. codd., add. b 27 πλεῖστον B Stobaeus 31 ἐξ αὐτῶν] ἔνυτῶν Stobaeus

ἀμαθέστεροι μὲν τῶν νόμων ἀξιοῦσιν εἶναι, ἀδυνατώτεροι δὲ τοῦ καλῶς εἰπόντος μέμφασθαι λόγον, κριτὰὶ δὲ ὅντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου μᾶλλον ἡ ἀγωνιστὴ ὁρθοῦνται τὰ πλείω. Ὡς οὖν 5 χρὴ καὶ ἡμᾶς ποιοῦντας μὴ δεωρότητι καὶ ἔντεσεως ἀγῶνι 5 ἐπαιρομένους παρὰ δόξαν τῷ ὑμετέρῳ πλήθει παραινεῖν.

Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν δὲ αὐτὸς εἴμι τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ θαυμάζω μὲν 38 τῶν προθέντων αὐθὶς περὶ Μυτιληναίων λέγειν καὶ χρόνου διατριβὴν ἐμποιησάντων, ὃ ἐστι πρὸς τῶν ἡδικηκότων μᾶλλον (ὅ γὰρ παθῶν τῷ δράσαντι ἀμβλυτέρᾳ τῇ ὁργῇ ἐπεξέρχεται, 10 ἀμύνεσθαι δὲ τῷ παθεῖν ὅτι ἔγγυτάτῳ κείμενον ἀντίπαλον ὃν μάλιστα τὴν τιμωρίαν ἀναλαμβάνει), θαυμάζω δὲ καὶ ὅστις ἔσται δὲ ἀντερῶν καὶ ἀξιώστων ἀποφανεῖν τὰς μὲν Μυτιληναίων ἀδικίας ἡμῶν ὡφελίμους οὔσας, τὰς δὲ ἡμετέρας ἔνυμφορὰς τοὺς ἔνυμάχοις βλάβας καθισταμένας. καὶ δῆλον ὅτι ἡ τῷ λέγειν 2 15 πιστεύσας τὸ πάνυ δοκοῦν ἀνταποφῆναι ὡς οὐκ ἔγνωσται ἀγωνίσταιτ' ἄν, ἡ κέρδει ἐπαιρόμενος τὸ εὐπρεπὲς τοῦ λόγου ἐκπονήσας παράγειν πειράστεαι. ἡ δὲ πόλις ἐκ τῶν τοιωνδε 3 ἀγῶνων τὰ μὲν ἀθλα ἔτέροις διδωσιν, αὐτὴ δὲ τοὺς κινδύνους ἀναφέρει. αἴτιοι δὲ ὑμεῖς κακῶς ἀγωνιθετοῦντες, οἵτινες 4 20 εἰώθατε θεαταὶ μὲν τῶν λόγων γίγνεσθαι, ἀκροαταὶ δὲ τῶν ἔργων, τὰ μὲν μέλλοντα ἔργα ἀπὸ τῶν εὐ εἰπόντων σκοποῦντες ὡς δυνατὰ γίγνεσθαι, τὰ δὲ πεπραγμένα ἥδη, οὐ τὸ δρασθὲν πιστότερον ὅφει λαβόντες ἡ τὸ ἀκουσθέν, ἀπὸ τῶν λόγων ἀπα- 5 25 τᾶσθαι ἄριστοι, μετὰ δεδοκιμασμένου δὲ μὴ ἔννέπεσθαι ἐθέλειν, δοῦλοι ὅντες τῶν αἱὲν ἀτόπων, ὑπερόπται δὲ τῶν εἰωθότων, καὶ μάλιστα μὲν αὐτὸς εἰπεῖν ἔκαστος βουλόμενος 6 δύνασθαι, εἰ δὲ μή, ἀνταγωνιζόμενοι τοῖς τοιαῦτα λέγουσι μὴ ὕστεροι ἀκολουθῆσαι δοκεῖν τῇ γνώμῃ, δξέως δέ τι λέ- 30 γοντος προεπαινέσαι, καὶ προαισθέσθαι τε πρόθυμοι εἶναι τὰ λεγόμενα καὶ προνοησαι βραδεῖς τὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀποβησόμενα,

1 post δὲ add. τὸν Stobaeus 5 post παρὰ add. τὸ Reiske
το ἀμύνασθαι ΑΒΕΦΜ γρ. G Plutarchus ὃν secl. Haase 30 εἶναι
secl. Poppo

7 ζητοῦντες τε ἄλλο τι ὡς εἰπεῖν ἢ ἐν οἷς ζῶμει, φρονοῦντες δὲ οὐδὲ περὶ τῶν παρόντων ἴκανῶς· ἀπλῶς τε ἀκοῆς ἥδον ἢ ἡστάθμενοι καὶ σοφιστῶν θεαταῖς ἔοικότες καθημένοις μᾶλλον ἢ περὶ πόλεως βουλευομένοις.

- 39 1 Ὡν ἐγὼ πειρώμενος ἀποτρέπειν ὑμᾶς ἀποφαίνω Μυτιλη- 5
 2 ναίους μάλιστα δὴ μίαν πόλιν ἡδικηκότας ὑμᾶς. ἐγὼ γάρ,
 3 οἵτινες μὲν μὴ δυνατὸν φέρειν τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀρχὴν ἢ οἵτινες
 4 ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀναγκασθέντες ἀπέστησαν, ἔνγγρωμην
 5 ἔχω· τῆσσον δὲ οἵτινες ἔχοντες μετὰ τειχῶν καὶ κατὰ θάλασ-
 6 σαν μόνον φοβούμενοι τοὺς ἡμετέρους πολεμίους, ἐν φὶ καὶ 10
 7 αὐτοὶ τριήρων παρασκευῇ οὐκ ἄφαρκτοι ἦσαν πρὸς αὐτούς,
 8 αὐτόνομοι τε οἰκοῦντες καὶ τιμώμενοι ἐς τὰ πρώτα ὑπὸ ἡμῶν
 9 τοιαῦτα εἰργάσαντο, τί ἄλλο οὗτοι ἢ ἐπεβούλευσάν τε καὶ
 10 ἐπανέστησαν μᾶλλον ἢ ἀπέστησαν (ἀπόστασις μέν γε τῷ
 11 βίαιόν τι πατχόντων ἐστίν), ἔζητησάν τε μετὰ τῶν πολε- 15
 12 μιωτάτων ἡμᾶς στάντες διαφθέραι; καίτοι δεινότερόν ἐστιν
 13 ἢ εἰ καθ' αὐτοὺς δύναμιν κτώμενοι ἀντεπολέμησαν. παρά-
 14 δειγμα δὲ αὐτοῖς οὕτε αἱ τῶν πέλας ἔνυμφοι ἐγένοντο, ὅσοι
 15 ἀποστάντες ἤδη ἡμῶν ἐχειρώθησαν, οὕτε ἡ παροῦσα εὐδαι-
 16 μονία παρέσχειν ὄκνον μὴ ἐλθεῖν ἐς τὰ δεινά· γενόμενοι δὲ 20
 17 πρὸς τὸ μέλλον θρασεῖς καὶ ἐλπίσαντες μακρότερα μὲν τῆς
 18 δυνάμεως, ἐλάστω δὲ τῆς βουλήσεως, πόλεμον ἤραντο, ἵσχὺν
 19 ἀξιώσαντες τοῦ δικαίου προθεῖναι· ἐν φὶ γὰρ ὠήθησαν
 20 4 περιέσεσθαι, ἐπέθεντο ἡμῖν οὐκ ἀδικούμενοι. εἴωθε δὲ τῶν
 21 πόλεων αἱς ἀν μάλιστα καὶ δι' ἐλαχίστου ἀπροσδόκητος 25
 22 εὐπραγία ἐλθῆ, ἐς ὕβριν τρέπειν· τὰ δὲ πολλὰ κατὰ λόγον
 23 τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εὐτυχοῦντα ἀσφαλέστερα ἢ παρὰ δόξαν, καὶ
 24 κακοπραγίαν ὡς εἰπεῖν ῥάον ἀπωθοῦνται ἢ εὐδαιμονίαν
 25 5 διασφέζονται. χρῆν δὲ Μυτιληναίους καὶ πάλαι μηδὲν
 26 διαφερόντως τῶν ἄλλων ὑφ' ἡμῶν τετιμῆσθαι, καὶ οὐκ ἀν ἐς 30
 27 τόδε ἐξύβρισαν· πέφυκε γὰρ καὶ ἄλλως ἀνθρωπος τὸ μὲν

26 εὐπραγία Phot.: εὐπραξία codd.
 27 διαφέροντας A B C F

29 χρῆν E G¹: χρὴ cett.

Θεραπεῦον ὑπερφρονεῖν, τὸ δὲ μὴ ὑπεῖκον θαυμάζειν. κολα- 6
 στέντων δὲ καὶ νῦν ἀξίως τῆς ἀδικίας, καὶ μὴ τοῖς μὲν
 δλίγοις ἡ αἰτία προστεθῆ, τὸν δὲ δῆμον ἀπολύσητε. πάντες
 γὰρ ὑμῖν γε ὅμοιῶς ἐπέθεντο, οἷς γ' ἔξῆν ὡς ἡμᾶς τραπο-
 5 μένοις νῦν πάλιν ἐν τῇ πόλει εἴναι· ἀλλὰ τὸν μετὰ τῶν
 δλίγων κύνδυνον ἡγησάμενοι βεβαιότερον ξυναπέστησαν.
 τῶι τε ἔνυμάχων σκέψασθε εἰ τοῦς τε ἀναγκασθεῖσιν ὑπὸ 7
 τῶι πολεμίων καὶ τοῦς ἕκοῦσιν ἀποστᾶσι τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμίας
 προσθήσετε, τίνα οἰεσθε ὄντινα οὐ βραχέᾳ προφάσει ἀπο-
 10 στήσεσθαι, ὅταν ἡ κατορθώσαντι ἐλευθέρωσις ἥτις σφαλέντι
 μηδὲν παθεῖν ἀνήκεστον; ἡμῖν δὲ πρὸς ἐκάστην πόλιν 8
 ἀποκεκινηθεῖσαν τά τε χρήματα καὶ αἱ ψυχαί, καὶ τυχόντες
 μὲν πόλιν ἐφθαρμένην παραλαβόντες τῆς ἔπειτα προσόδον,
 δι᾽ ἣν ἵσχυομεν, τὸ λοιπὸν στερήσεσθε, σφαλέντες δὲ πολε-
 15 μίους πρὸς τοὺς ὑπάρχουσιν ἔξομεν, καὶ διν χρόνον τοῦς νῦν
 καθεστηκόσι δεῖ ἐχθροῖς ἀνθίστασθαι, τοῖς οἰκείοις ἔνυμάχοις
 πολεμήσομεν.

‘Οὐκον δεῖ προθεῖναι ἐλπίδα οὕτε λόγῳ πιστὴν οὕτε χρί- 40
 μασιν ὧνητήν, ὡς ἔνγγινώμην ἀμαρτεῖν ἀνθρωπίνως λήψονται.
 20 ἄκοντες μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἔβλαψαι, εἰδότες δὲ ἐπεβούλευσαν·
 ἔνγγινωμον δ' ἐστὶ τὸ ἄκοντιον. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν καὶ τότε 2
 πρῶτον καὶ τοῦ διαμάχομαι μὴ μεταγνῶναι ὑμᾶς τὰ προδε-
 δογμένα, μηδὲ τρισὶ τοῖς ἀξυμφορωτάτοις τῇ ἀρχῇ, οἴκτῳ καὶ
 ἡδονῇ λόγων καὶ ἐπιεικείᾳ, ἀμαρτάνειν. ἔλεός τε γὰρ πρὸς 3
 25 τοὺς ὅμοίους δίκαιος ἀντιδίδοσθαι, καὶ μὴ πρὸς τοὺς οὕτ'
 ἀντοικτιοῦντας ἐξ ἀνάγκης τε καθεστῶτας αἰεὶ πολεμίους·
 οἵ τε τέρποντες λόγῳ ῥήτορες ἔξουσι καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις ἐλάσ-
 σοσιν ἀγῶνα, καὶ μὴ ἐν φῷ ἢ μὲν πόλις βραχέα ἡσθεῖσα
 μεγάλα ζημιώσεται, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ εὖ εἰπεῖν τὸ παθεῖν εὖ
 30 ἀντιλήψονται· καὶ ἡ ἐπιείκεια πρὸς τοὺς μέλλοντας ἐπιτη-

4 ἡμῖν B [G] τραπομένοις f M : τρεπομένοις cett. [G] 7 post
 ὑπὸ add. τε codd., del. f 13 ἔπειτα] ἐπετέλου Weil 14 ἐστε-
 ρήσεσθε Herwerden 18 προσθεῖναι A B C G 27 ῥήτορες secl.
 Naber

δείους καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἔτεσθαι μᾶλλον δίδοται ἢ πρὸς τοὺς
4 ὄμοίους τε καὶ οὐδὲν ἡσπον πολεμίους ὑπολειπομένους. ἐν
τε ἔντελῶν λέγω· πειθόμενοι μὲν ἐμοὶ τά τε δίκαια ἐσ
Μυτιληναίους καὶ τὰ ἔνυμφορά ἀμα ποιήσετε, ἄλλως δὲ
γνόντες τοὺς μὲν οὐ χαριεῖσθε, ὑμᾶς δὲ αὐτὸὺς μᾶλλοι⁵
δικαιώσεσθε. εἰ γὰρ οὗτοι ὀρθῶς ἀπέστησαν, ὑμεῖς ἀν οὐ
χρεῶν ἀρχοιτε. εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ οὐ προσῆκον ὅμως ἀξιοῦτε
τοῦτο ὀρᾶν, παρὰ τὸ εἰκός τοι καὶ τούσδε ἔνυμφόρως δεῖ
6 κολάζεσθαι, ἢ παύεσθαι τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἀκιδύνου
ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι. τῇ τε αὐτῇ ἡμίᾳ ἀξιώσατε ἀμύνασθαι¹⁰
καὶ μὴ ἀναλγητότεροι οἱ διαφεύγοντες τῶν ἐπιβουλευσάντων
φανῆναι, ἐνθυμηθέντες ἂ εἰκὸς ἦν αὐτὸὺς ποιῆσαι κρατή-
σαντας ὑμῶν, ἄλλως τε καὶ προϋπάρξαντας ἀδικίας. μάλιστα
δὲ οἱ μὴ ἔνν προφάσει τινὰ κακῶς ποιοῦντες ἐπεξέρχονται
καὶ διολλύναι, τὸν κύνδυνον ὑφορώμενοι τοῦ ὑπολειπομένου¹⁵
ἐχθροῦ· ὁ γὰρ μὴ ἔνν ἀνάγκη τι παθὼν χαλεπώτερος δια-
φυγῶν τοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς ἵσης ἐχθροῦ.

7 ‘Μὴ οὖν προδόται γένησθε ὑμῶν αὐτῶν, γενόμενοι δ’ ὅτι
ἐγγύτατα τῇ γυνάμῃ τοῦ πάσχειν καὶ ὡς πρὸ παντὸς ἀν
ἐπιμήσασθε αὐτὸὺς χειρώσασθαι, νῦν ἀνταπόδοτε μὴ μαλακι-²⁰
σθέντες πρὸς τὸ παρὸν αὐτίκα μηδὲ τοῦ ἐπικρεμασθέντος
ποτὲ δεινοῦ ἀμιημονοῦντες. κολάσατε δὲ ἀξίως τούτους τε
καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἔνυμμάχους παράδειγμα σαφὲς καταστήσατε,
ὅς ἀν ἀφιστῆται, θανάτῳ ἡμιωσόμενον. τόδε γὰρ ἦν
γνῶσιν, ἡσπον τῶν πολεμίων ἀμελήσαντες τοὺς ὑμετέροις²⁵
αὐτῶν μαχεῖσθε ἔνυμμάχους.’

41 Τοιαῦτα μὲν ὁ Κλέων εἶπεν· μετὰ δ’ αὐτὸν Διόδοτος ὁ
Εὐκράτους, ὅσπερ καὶ ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀντέλεγε
μάλιστα μὴ ἀποκτεῖναι Μυτιληναίους, παρελθὼν καὶ τότε
ἔλεγε τοιάδε.

42 ‘Οὕτε τοὺς προθέντας τὴν διαγνώμην αὐθις περὶ Μυτι-

² ὄμοιως Thiersch. ³ τε C: δὲ cett. ¹⁵ διολλύναι Stahl:
διόλλυνται codd. ¹⁹ ἐγγύτατα τῇ C: ἐγγυτάτη cett. [G]

ληγαίων αἰτιῶμαι, οὕτε τοὺς μεμφομένους μὴ πολλάκις περὶ τῶν μεγίστων βουλεύεσθαι ἐπαυθ, νομίζω δὲ δύο τὰ ἐναρτιώτατα εὐβουλίᾳ ἔναι, τάχος τε καὶ ὀργήρ, ὥν τὸ μὲν μετὰ ἀνοίας φιλεῖ γίγνεσθαι, τὸ δὲ μετὰ ἀπαιδευσίας καὶ 5 βραχύτητος γνώμης. τούς τε λόγους ὅστις διαμάχεται μὴ 2 διδασκάλους τῶν πραγμάτων γίγνεσθαι, ἡ ἀξύνετός ἐστιν ἡ ἴδια τι αὐτῷ διαφέρει· ἀξύνετος μέν, εἰ ἄλλῳ τινὶ ἥγεῖται περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος δυνατὸν ἔναι καὶ μὴ ἐμφανοῦς φράσαι, διαφέρει δ' αὐτῷ, εἰ βουλόμενός τι αἰσχρὸν πεῖσαι εὖ μὲν 10 εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἀν ἥγεῖται περὶ τοῦ μὴ καλοῦ δύνασθαι, εὖ δὲ διαβαλὼν ἐκπλῆξαι ἀν τούς τε ἀντεροῦντας καὶ τοὺς ἀκουστομένους. χαλεπώτατοι δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ χρήμασι προσκατη- 3 γοροῦντες ἐπιδειξών τινα. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἀμαθίαν κατητιώντο, δομὴ πείσας ἀξυνετώτερος ἀν δόξας ἔναι ἡ ἀδικώτερος 15 ἀπεχώρει· ἀδικίας δ' ἐπιφερομένης πείσας τε ὑποπτος γίγνεται καὶ μὴ τυχῶν μετὰ ἀξυνεσίας καὶ ἀδικος. ἡ τε πόλις 4 οὐκ ὠφελεῖται ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε· φόβῳ γὰρ ἀποστερεῖται τῶν ἔνυμβούλων. καὶ πλεῖστ' ἀν ὀρθοῦτο ἀδυνάτους λέγειν ἔχουσα τοὺς τοιούτους τῶν πολιτῶν· ἐλάχιστα γὰρ ἀν 20 πεισθεῖν ἀμαρτάνειν. χρὴ δὲ τὸν μὲν ἀγαθὸν πολίτην μὴ 5 ἐκφοβοῦντα τοὺς ἀντεροῦντας, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵστου φαίνεσθαι ἀμειων λέγοντα, τὴν δὲ σώφρονα πόλιν τῷ τε πλεῖστα εὖ βουλεύοντι μὴ προστιθέναι τιμήν, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ἐλασσοῦν τῆς ὑπαρχούσης, καὶ τὸν μὴ τυχόντα γνώμης οὐχ ὅπως ἤμιοῦν 25 ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ἀτιμάζειν. οὕτω γὰρ ὅ τε κατορθῶν ἥκιστα ἀν 6 ἐπὶ τῷ ἔτι μειζόνων ἀξιοῦσθαι παρὰ γνώμην τι καὶ πρὸς χάριν λέγοι, ὅ τε μὴ ἐπιτυχῶν ὀρέγοιτο τῷ αὐτῷ χαριζό- μενός τι καὶ αὐτὸς προσάγεσθαι τὸ πλῆθος.

⁴³ Ων ἡμεῖς τάναντία δρῶμεν, καὶ προσέτι ἦν τις καὶ 43
30 ὑποπτεύηται κέρδους μὲν ἔνεκα τὰ βέλτιστα δὲ ὅμως λέγειν,
φθονήσαντες τῆς οὐ βεβαίου δοκήσεως τῶν κερδῶν τὴν

2 δὲ G M : τε cett.

9 διαφέρει Schol.: διαφέροι codd.

12 προ-

κατηγοροῦντες C

13 ἀντίδειξιν f G M

26

τὸ A B E F M

- 2 φαερὰν ὡφελίαν τῆς πόλεως ἀφαιρούμεθα. καθέστηκε δὲ τάγαθὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐθέος λεγόμενα μηδὲν ἀνυποπτότερα ἔναι τῶν κακῶν, ὥστε δεῖν ὅμοίως τόν τε τὰ δεινάτα βουλόμενον πεῖσαι ἀπάτῃ προσάγεσθαι τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὸν τὰ 3 ἀμείνω λέγοιτα ψευσάμενον πιστὸν γενέσθαι. μόνην τε ἵ πόλιν διὰ τὰς περιωόις εὖ ποιῆσαι ἐκ τοῦ προφαγοῦς μὴ ἔξαπατήσαντα ἀδύνατον· διὸ γὰρ διδοὺς φανερῶς τι ἀγαθὸν 4 ἀνθυποπτεύεται ἀφανῶς πῃ πλέον ἔξειν. χρὴ δὲ πρὸς τὰ μέγιστα καὶ ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε ἀξιοῦν τι ἡμᾶς περαιτέρω προνοοῦντας λέγειν ὑμῶν τῶν δι’ ὀλίγου σκοπούντων, ἄλλως τε 10 καὶ ὑπεύθυνον τὴν παραίσταντας πρὸς ἀνεύθυνον τὴν 5 ὑμετέραν ἀκρόασιν. εἰ γὰρ ὁ τε πείσας καὶ δὲ ἐπισπόμενος ὅμοίως ἐβλάπτοντο, σωφρονέστερον ἀν ἐκρίνετε· νῦν δὲ πρὸς ὀργὴν ἥντινα τύχητε ἔστιν ὅτε σφαλέντες τὴν τοῦ πείσαντος μίαν γνώμην ζημιοῦτε καὶ οὐ τὰς ὑμετέρας αὐτῶν, 15 εἰ πολλαὶ οὖσαι ἔνυξέμαρτον.
- 44 Ἐγὼ δὲ παρῆλθον οὔτε ἀντερῶν περὶ Μυτιληναίων οὔτε κατηγορήσων. οὐ γὰρ περὶ τῆς ἐκείνων ἀδικίας ἡμῖν δὲ ἀγών, εἰ σωφρονοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας εὐβουλίας.
- 2 ἵν τε γὰρ ἀποφήνω πάντας ἀδικοῦντας αὐτούς, οὐ διὰ τοῦτο 20 καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι κελεύσω, εἰ μὴ ἔνυμφέροι, ἵν τε καὶ ἔχοντάς τι ἔνυγγάμης τεῖνεν, εἰ τῇ πόλει μὴ ἀγαθὸν φαίνοιτο.
- 3 τομίζω δὲ περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἡμᾶς μᾶλλον βουλεύεσθαι ἢ τοῦ παρόντος. καὶ τοῦτο δὲ μάλιστα Κλέων ἰσχυρίζεται, ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν ἔνυμφέρον ἔσεσθαι πρὸς τὸ ἥσπον ἀφίστασθαι 25 θάγατον ζημίαν προθεῖσι, καὶ αὐτὸς περὶ τοῦ ἐς τὸ μέλλον
- 4 καλῶς ἔχοιτος ἀπισχυριζόμενος τάνατία γιγνώσκω. καὶ οὐκ ἀξιῶ ἡμᾶς τῷ εὐπρεπεῖ τοῦ ἐκείνου λόγου τὸ χρήσιμον τοῦ ἔμοιν ἀπώσασθαι. δικαιότερος γὰρ ὁν αὐτοῦ δὲ λόγος πρὸς τὴν νῦν ὑμετέραν ὀργὴν ἐς Μυτιληναίους τάχ’ ἀν 30 ἐπισπάσαιτο· ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐ δικαζόμεθα πρὸς αὐτούς, ὥστε τῶν

3 βουλόμενον C: βουλευθμενον cett. [G]

14 ἥντιν' ἄν Stahl

21 ἔχοντας Lindau: ἔχοντες codd.

ἔν Lindau: fort. ἔν oīkēn scribendum

9 ἀξιοῦντι C E G

22 εἰεν]

24 φ C G

δικαίων δεῦτ', ἀλλὰ βουλευόμεθα περὶ αὐτῶν, ὅπως χρησίμως
ἔξουσι.

Ἐν οὖν ταῖς πόλεσι πολλῶν θανάτου ζημίαι πρόκειται, 45
καὶ οὐκ ἵστων τῷδε, ἀλλ' ἐλασσόνων ἀμαρτημάτων· ὅμως
5 δὲ τῇ ἐπιτίδι ἐπαιρόμενοι κινδυνεύουσι, καὶ οὐδείς πω
καταγνοὺς ἔαντοῦ μὴ περιέσεσθαι τῷ ἐπιβουλεύματι ἥλθει
ἐς τὸ δεινόν. πόλις τε ἀφισταμένη τίς πω ἡσσω τῇ δοκήσει 2
ἔχουσα τὴν παρασκευὴν ἡ οἰκεῖαν ἢ ἄλλων ξυμμαχίᾳ τούτῳ
ἐπεχείρησεν; πεφύκαστι τε ἀπαντεῖς καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ 3
10 ἀμαρτάνεις, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι οὐδός ὅστις ἀπείρξει τούτου, ἐπεὶ
διεξεληλύθασί γε διὰ πασῶν τῶν ζημιῶν οἱ ἀνθρώποι προστι-
θέντες, εἴ πως ἡσσον ἀδικοῦτο ὑπὸ τῶν κακούργων. καὶ
εἰκὸς τὸ πάλαι τῶν μεγίστων ἀδικημάτων μαλακωτέρας
κεῖσθαι αὐτάς, παραβαινομένων δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐς τὸν θάνατον
15 αἱ πολλαὶ ἀνήκουσιν· καὶ τοῦτο ὅμως παραβαίνεται. ἡ τούτην 4
δεινότερον τι τούτου δέος εὑρετέον ἔστιν· ἡ τόδε γε οὐδὲν
ἐπίσχει, ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν πεντα ἀνάγκη τὴν τόλμαν παρέχουσα,
ἡ δ' ἔξουσία ὕβρει τὴν πλεονεξίαν καὶ φρονήματι, αἱ δ'
ἄλλαι ξυντυχίαι δργῆ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὡς ἔκαστη τις κατ-
20 ἔχεται ὑπὸ ἀνηκέστου τιὸς κρείστονος ἔξαγοντιν ἐς τοὺς
κινδύνους. ἡ τε ἐλπὶς καὶ δ' ἔρως ἐπὶ παντί, δ' μὲν ἡγού- 5
μενος, ἡ δ' ἐφεπομένη, καὶ δ' μὲν τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ἐκφρο-
τίζων, ἡ δὲ τὴν εὐπορίαν τῆς τύχης ὑποτιθεῖσα, πλεῦστα
βλάπτουσι, καὶ ὅντα ἀφανῆ κρείστων ἔστι τῶν δρωμένων
25 δεινῶν.. καὶ ἡ τύχη ἐπ' αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ἐλασσον ξυμβάλλεται 6
ἐς τὸ ἐπαίρειν ἀδοκίτως γάρ ἔστιν ὅτε παρισταμένη καὶ ἐκ
τῶν ὑποδεεστέρων κινδυνεύειν τιὰ προάγει, καὶ οὐχ ἡσσον
τὰς πόλεις, ὅσῳ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων τε, ἐλευθερίας ἢ ἄλλων
ἀρχῆς, καὶ μετὰ πάντων ἔκαστος ἀλογίστως ἐπὶ πλέον τι
30 αὐτὸν ἐδόξασεν. ἀπλῶς τε ἀδύνατον καὶ πολλῆς εὐηθείας, 7

3 Ζημία πρόκειται ΑΒΕFM γρ. G	8 τοῦτο ΑΒΕFM γρ. G
11 προτιθέντες Krüger	16 τόδε C: τό cett. [G]
Stahl	22 ἐπιβουλὴν M Thom. Mag.: ἐπι-
έκάστη Duker	28 τε C: om. cett.
βολὴν cett. Schol.	30 αὐτὸν vel αὐτὸν
vulgo: αὐτῶν codd.	

ὅστις οἴεται τῆς ἀνθρωπείας φύσεως ὄρμωμένης προθύμως τι πρᾶξαι ἀποτροπήν των ἔχειν ἢ νόμων ἵσχυν ἢ ἄλλῳ τῷ δεινῷ.

- 46 ‘Οὐκον χρὴ οὔτε τοῦ θανάτου τῇ ζημίᾳ ὡς ἔχεγγύῳ πιστεύσαντας χεῖρον βουλεύσασθαι οὔτε ἀνέλπιστον καταστῆσαι τοῖς ἀποστάσιν ὡς οὐκ ἔσται μεταγιγνωνται καὶ ὅτι ἐν 5
 2 βραχυτάτῳ τὴν ἀμαρτίαν καταλῦσαι. σκέψασθε γὰρ ὅτι νῦν μέν, ἵν τις καὶ ἀποστάσια πόλις γνῷ μὴ περιεσφόρην, ἔλθοι ἀν ἐς ξύμβασιν δυνατὴ οὖσα ἔτι τὴν δαπάνην ἀποδοῦνται καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ὑποτελεῦν· ἐκείνως δὲ τίνα οἰεσθε ἥντινα οὐκ ἄμεων μὲν ἢ νῦν παρασκευάστεσθαι, πολιορκίᾳ δὲ παρα- 10
 τενεῦσθαι ἐς τοῦσχατον, εἰ τὸ αὐτὸ δύναται σχολῆ καὶ ταχὺ¹⁰
 3 ξυμβῆναι; ἡμῶν τε πῶς οὐ βλάβῃ δαπανᾶν καθημένοις διὰ τὸ ἀξύμβατον καί, ἵν ἔλωμεν, πόλιν ἐφθαρμένην παραλαβεῖν καὶ τὴν προσόδου τὸ λοιπὸν ἀπ’ αὐτῆς στέρεσθαι; Ισχύομεν
 4 δὲ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους τῷδε. ὥστε οὐ δικαστὰς ὄντας δεῖ 15
 ἡμᾶς μᾶλλον τῶν ἔξαμπτανόντων ἀκριβεῖς βλάπτεσθαι ἢ
 ὁρᾶν ὅπως ἐς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον μετρίως κολάζοντες ταῖς πόλεσιν ἔξομεν ἐς χρημάτων λόγον ισχυούσαις χρῆσθαι, καὶ τὴν φυλακὴν μὴ ἀπὸ τῶν νόμων τῆς δεωρότητος ἀξιοῦν
 5 ποιεῖσθαι, ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων τῆς ἐπιμελείας. οὐ νῦν 20
 τούναντίον δρῶντες, ἵν τινα ἐλεύθερον καὶ βίᾳ ἀρχόμενον εἰκότως πρὸς αὐτονομίαν ἀποστάντα χειρωσώμεθα, χαλεπῶς
 6 οἰόμεθα χρῆναι τιμωρεῖσθαι. χρὴ δὲ τοὺς ἐλευθέρους οὐκ ἀφισταμένους σφόδρα κολάζειν, ἀλλὰ πρὶν ἀποστῆναι σφόδρα φυλάσσειν καὶ προκαταλαμβάνειν ὅπως μηδὲ ἐς ἐπίνοιαν 25
 τούτου ἴωσι, κρατήσαντάς τε ὅτι ἐπ’ ἐλάχιστον τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπιφέρειν.
- 47 ‘Τμεῖς δὲ σκέψασθε ὅσον ἀν καὶ τοῦτο ἀμαρτάγοντε
 2 Κλέωνι πειθόμενοι. νῦν μὲν γὰρ ὑμῶν ὁ δῆμος ἐν πάσαις ταῖς πόλεσιν εὖγους ἐστί, καὶ ἢ οὐ ξυραφίσταται τοῖς 30
 ὀλίγοις ἢ, ἐὰν βιασθῇ, ὑπάρχει τοῖς ἀποστήσασι πολέμιος

10 παρασκευάστεσθαι rec. : παρασκευάσασθαι codd. δὲ Reiske:
 τε codd. II ει c f G : ἢ cett. 21 τάναντία A B F

εὐθύς, καὶ τῆς ἀντικαθισταμένης πόλεως τὸ πλῆθος ἔνυμαχον
ἔχοντες ἐς πόλεμον ἐπέρχεσθε. εἰ δὲ διαφθερεῖτε τὸν 3
δῆμον τὸν Μυτιληναίων, ὃς οὕτε μετέσχε τῆς ἀποστάσεως,
ἐπειδὴ τε ὅπλων ἐκράτησεν, ἐκῶν παρέδωκε τὴν πόλιν, πρῶ-
5 τον μὲν ἀδικήστε τοὺς εὐεργέτας κτείνοντες, ἐπειτα κατα-
στήστε τοῖς δυνατοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὃ βουλοῦται μάλιστα
ἀφιστάντες γὰρ τὰς πόλεις τὸν δῆμον εὐθὺς ἔνυμαχον ἔξουσι,
προδειξάντων ὑμῶν τὴν αὐτὴν ζημίαν τοῖς τε ἀδικοῦσιν
δμοῖσις κεῖσθαι καὶ τοῖς μῆ. δεῖ δέ, καὶ εἰ ἡδίκησταν, μὴ 4
10 προσποιεῖσθαι, ὅπως ὃ μόγον ἡμῖν ἔτι ἔνυμαχόν ἔστι μὴ
πολέμιον γένηται. καὶ τοῦτο πολλῷ ἔνυμφορώτερον ἡγοῦμαι 5
ἐς τὴν κάθεξιν τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐκόντας ἡμᾶς ἀδικηθῆναι ἢ
δικαίως οὖς μὴ δεῖ διαφθεῖραι· καὶ τὸ Κλέωνος τὸ αὐτὸ
δίκαιον καὶ ἔνυμφορον τῆς τιμωρίας οὐχ εὑρίσκεται ἐν αὐτῷ
15 δυνατὸν ὃν ἄμα γίγνεσθαι.

‘Τμεῖς δὲ γνόντες ἀμείνω τάδε εἶναι καὶ μήτε οἴκτω 48
πλέον νείμαντες μήτ’ ἐπιεικείᾳ, οἷς οὐδὲ ἐγὼ ἐῶ προσάγεσθαι,
ἀπ’ αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν παραινουμένων πείθεσθέ μοι Μυτιληναίων
οὓς μὲν Πάχης ἀπέπεμψεν ὡς ἀδικοῦντας κρῖναι καθ’
20 ἡσυχίαν, τοὺς δ’ ἄλλους ἐᾶν οἰκεῖν. τάδε γὰρ ἐς τε τὸ 2
μέλλον ἀγαθὰ καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἥδη φοβερά· ὅστις γὰρ εὐ
βουλεύεται πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους κρείσσων ἐστὶν ἢ μετ’
ἔργων ἴσχυος ἀνοίᾳ ἐπιών.’

Τοιαῦτα δὲ ὁ Διοδοτος εἶπεν. ῥήθεισῶν δὲ τῶν γνωμῶν 49
25 τούτων μάλιστα ἀντιπάλων πρὸς ἄλλήλας οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἥλθον
μὲν ἐς ἀγῶνα ὅμως τῆς δόξης καὶ ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ χειροτονίᾳ
ἀγχώμαλοι, ἐκράτησε δὲ ἡ τοῦ Διοδότου. καὶ τριήρη εὐθὺς 2
ἄλλην ἀπέστελλον κατὰ σπουδήν, ὅπως μὴ φθασάσης τῆς
προτέρας εὑρώσῃ διεφθαρμένην τὴν πόλιν· προεῖχε δὲ ἡμέρα
30 καὶ νυκτὶ μάλιστα. παρασκευασάντων δὲ τῶν Μυτιληναίων 3

3 τὸν] τῶν A B E F M 14 ταῦτῷ Krüger 18 πείθεσθε C¹:
πείθεσθαι cett. 24 prius δὲ] μὲν F¹ G M Schol. 25 ἄλλή-
λας f G¹ M: ἄλλήλους cett. 26 δμοῖς Bredow 29 προτέρας]
priorum Valla: δευτέρας codd.

πρέσβεων τῇ γηλ οἴνοι καὶ ἄλφιτα καὶ μεγάλα ὑποσχομέ-
ρῶι, εἰ φθάσειαν, ἐγένετο σπουδὴ τοῦ πλοῦ τοιαύτη ὥστε
ἥστιόν τε ἄμα ἐλαύνοντες οἴνῳ καὶ ἐλαίῳ ἄλφιτα πεφυρα-
μένα, καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑπιοι γροῦντο κατὰ μέρος, οἱ δὲ ἥλαντον.

4 κατὰ τύχην δὲ πνεύματος οὐδενὸς ἐναρτιωθέντος καὶ τῆς μὲν 5
προτέρας γεώς οὐ σπουδῇ πλεούσης ἐπὶ πρᾶγμα ἀλλόκοτον,
ταύτης δὲ τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ ἐπειγομένης, ἡ μὲν ἔφθασε τοσοῦ-
τοι ὅστιοι Πάχητα ἀγεγνωκένται τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ μέλλειν
δράσειν τὰ δεδογμένα, ἡ δὲ ὑστέρα αὐτῆς ἐπικατάγεται καὶ
διεκώλυσε μὴ διαφθεῖραι. παρὰ τοσοῦτον μὲν ἡ Μυτιλήνη 10

50 ἥλθε κινδύνου. τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἄνδρας οὓς ὁ Πάχης ἀπέ-
πεμψεν ὡς αἰτιωτάτους ὕντας τῆς ἀποστάσεως Κλέωρος
γνώμῃ διέφθειραι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι (ἵστιαν δὲ ὀλίγῳ πλείους
χιλίων), καὶ Μυτιληγραίων τείχη καθεῦλοι καὶ γαῦς παρέλα-

2 βοι. ὑστεροι δὲ φόρον μὲν οὐκ ἔταξαν Λεσβίοις, κλήρους 15
δὲ ποιήσατες τῆς γῆς πλὴν τῆς Μηθυμναίων τρισχιλίους
τριακοσίους μὲν τοῖς θεοῖς ιεροὺς ἔξειλοι, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους
σφῶν αὐτῶν κληρούχους τοὺς λαχόντας ἀπέπεμψαν οἱς
ἀργύριοι Λέσβιοι ταξάμενοι τοῦ κλήρου ἐκάστου τοῦ ἐγιαντοῦ
3 δύο μηνὶς φέρειν αὐτοὶ εἰργάζοντο τὴν γῆν. παρέλαβοι δὲ 20
καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ πολίσματα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὅσων Μυτιλη-
γραῖοι ἐκράτοντ, καὶ ὑπήκοοι ὑστερον Ἀθηναίων. τὰ μὲν
κατὰ Λέσβον οὕτως ἐγένετο.

51 Ἐγ δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ θέρει μετὰ τὴν Λέσβον ἄλωσιν Ἀθηναῖοι
Νικίου τοῦ Νικηράτου σιρατηγοῦντος ἐστράτευσαν ἐπὶ Μι- 25
ρφαῖ τὴν γῆσσον, ἡ κεῖται πρὸ Μεγάρων ἐχρῶντο δὲ αὐτῇ
2 πύργον ἐνοικοδομήσατες οἱ Μεγαρῆς φρουρίῳ. ἐβούλετο
δὲ Νικίας τὴν φυλακὴν αὐτόθει δι' ἐλάσπονος τοῖς Ἀθη-
ναῖοις καὶ μὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ Βοιδόρου καὶ τῆς Σαλαμῖνος εἶναι,
τούς τε Πελοποννησίους, ὅπως μὴ ποιῶνται ἔκπλους αὐτόθει 30
λαγθάνοντες τριήρων τε, οἷον καὶ τὸ πρὶν γειόμενον, καὶ
ληστῶν ἐκπομπαῖς, τοῖς τε Μεγαρεῦσιν ἄμα μηδὲν ἐσπλεῦν.

ἔλων οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς Νισαίας πρῶτον δύο πύργω προύχοιτε 3
μηχανᾶς ἐκ θαλάσσης καὶ τὸν ἔσπλουν ἐς τὸ μεταξὺ τῆς
ιῆσου ἐλευθερώσας ἀπετείχιζε καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου, ἥ κατὰ
γέφυραν διὰ τενάγους ἐπιβοήθεια ἵν τῇ νήσῳ οὐ πολὺ διε-
5 χούσῃ τῆς ἡπείρου. ὡς δὲ τοῦτο ἔξειργάσαντο ἐν ἡμέραις 4
ὅλιγαις, ὕστερον δὴ καὶ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τεῖχος ἐγκαταλιπὼν καὶ
φρουρὰν ἀνεχώρησε τῷ στρατῷ.

‘Τπὸ δὲ τοὺς αὐτὸὺς χρόνους τοῦ θέρους τούτου καὶ οἱ 52
Πλαταιῆς οὐκέτι ἔχοντες σῆτον οὐδὲ δυνάμενοι πολιορκεῖσθαι
10 ξυνέβησαν τοὺς Πελοποννησίους τοιῷδε τρόπῳ. προσέβαλλον 2
αὐτῷ τῷ τείχει, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἀμύνεσθαι. γνοὺς δὲ
δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιος ἄρχων τὴν ἀσθένειαν αὐτῷ βίᾳ μὲν οὐκ
ἐβούλετο ἐλεῦν (εἰρημένον γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ ἐκ Λακεδαιμονος,
ὅπως, εἰ σπονδαὶ γύρνουστο ποτε πρὸς Ἀθηναίους καὶ ξυγχω-
15 ροῖεν ὅσα πολέμῳ χωρία ἔχονταν ἑκάτεροι ἀποδίδοσθαι, μὴ
ἀνάδοτος εἴη ἡ Πλάταια ὡς αὐτῷ ἐκόντων προσχωρησάντωι),
προσπέμπει δὲ αὐτοὺς κίρυκα λέγοντα, εἰ βούλονται παρα-
δοῦνται τὴν πόλιν ἐκόντες τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ δικασταῖς
ἐκείνοις χρήσασθαι, τούς τε ἀδίκους κολάζειν, παρὰ δίκην
20 δὲ οὐδένα. τοσαῦτα μὲν ὁ κῆρυξ εἶπεν· οἱ δέ (ἥσαν γὰρ 3
ἥδη ἐν τῷ ἀσθενεστάτῳ) παρέδοσαν τὴν πόλιν. καὶ τοὺς
Πλαταιᾶς ἔτρεφον οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι ἡμέρας τινάς, ἐν ὅσῳ
οἱ ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαιμονος δικασταὶ πέντε ἄνδρες ἀφίκοντο.
ἐλθόντων δὲ αὐτῷ κατηγορία μὲν οὐδεμία προυτέθη, ἡρώτων 4
25 δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐπικαλεσάμενοι τοσοῦτον μόνον, εἴ τι Λακεδαιμο-
νίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ καθεστῶτι ἀγαθόν
[τι] εἰργασμένοι εἰσίν. οἱ δὲ ἔλεγοι αἰτησάμενοι μακρύτερα 5
εἶπεν καὶ προτάξαντες σφῶν αὐτῷν Ἀστύμαχόν τε τὸν
Ἀσωπολάου καὶ Λάκωνα τὸν Αἰειμήστου πρόξενον ὄντα
30 Λακεδαιμονίων· καὶ ἐπελθόντες ἔλεγον τοιάδε.

ι ἀπὸ τῆς Νισαίας secl. Classen 5 ἔξειργάσατο G M 10 προσ-
έβαλον A B E F M 19 τε] γε rec. κολάζειν] sup-
ρίπλικον . . . sumpturos Valla: κολάσειν Krüger 27 τι secl.
Böhme

- 53 ‘Τὴν μὲν παράδοσιν τῆς πόλεως, ὡς Λακεδαιμόνιοι,
πιστεύσαντες ὑμῶν ἐποιησάμεθα, οὐ τοιάδε δίκην οἰόμενοι
ὑφέξειν, τομιμωτέραν δέ τινα ἔσεσθαι, καὶ ἐν δικασταῖς οὐκ
ἄν ἄλλοις δεξάμενοι, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐσμέν, γενέσθαι [ἢ ὑμῶν],
2 ἃ ἡγούμενοι τὸ ἵστον μάλιστ’ ἀν φέρεσθαι. τὸν δὲ φοιβούμεθα ἃ
μὴ ἀμφοτέρων ἄμα ἡμαρτήκαμεν· τόν τε γὰρ ἀγῶνα περὶ
τῶν δεινοτάτων ἔνται εἰκότως ὑποπτεύομεν καὶ ὑμᾶς μὴ οὐ
κοινοὶ ἀποβῆτε, τεκμαριόμενοι προκατηγορίας τε ἡμῶν οὐ
προγεγεγημένης ἢ χρὴ ἀντειπεῖν (ἀλλ’ αὐτοὶ λόγον ἡτησάμεθα)
τό τε ἐπερώτημα βραχὺ ὅν, φ τὰ μὲν ἀληθῆ ἀποκρίνασθαι 10
3 ἐναντία γίγνεται, τὰ δὲ ψευδῆ ἔλεγχον ἔχει. πανταχόθεν
δὲ ἀποροι καθεστῶτες ἀναγκαζόμεθα καὶ ἀσφαλέστερον δοκεῖ
ἔνται εἰπόντας τι κινδυνεύειν· καὶ γὰρ δ μὴ ῥῆθεὶς λόγος
τοῦς ὅδος ἔχουσιν αἰτίαν ἀν παράσχοι ὡς, εἰ ἐλέχθη, σωτή-
4 ριος ἀν ἦν. χαλεπῶς δὲ ἔχει ἡμῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλοις καὶ 15
ἡ πειθώ. ἀγγῆτες μὲν γὰρ ὅπτες ἀλλήλων ἐπεστενεγκάμενοι
μαρτύρια ὡν ἄπειροι ἥτε ὠφελούμεθ’ ἄν· τὸν δὲ πρὸς εἰδότας
πάντα λελέξεται, καὶ δέδιμεν οὐχὶ μὴ προκαταγγόντες ἡμῶν
τὰς ἀρετὰς ἥστους ἔνται τῶν ὑμετέρων ἔγκλημα αὐτὸ ποιῆτε,
ἄλλα μὴ ἄλλοις χάρις φέροντες ἐπὶ διεγνωσμένην κρίσιν 20
54 καθιστώμεθα. παρεχόμενοι δὲ ὅμως ἂν ἔχομεν δίκαια πρός
τε τὰ Θηβαίων διάφορα καὶ ἐς ὑμᾶς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλλη-
νας, τῶν εὖ δεδραμένων ὑπόμνησιν ποιησόμεθα καὶ πείθειν
πειρασόμεθα.
- 2 ‘Φαμὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὸ ἐρώτημα τὸ βραχύ, εἴ τι Λακεδαι- 25
μογίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἐι τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε ἀγαθὸν
πεποιήκαμεν, εἰ μὲν ὡς πολεμίους ἐρωτάτε, οὐκ ἀδικεῖσθαι
ὑμᾶς μὴ εὖ παθόντας, φίλους δὲ τομίζοντας αὐτοὺς ἀμαρτά-
3 νειν μᾶλλον τοὺς ἡμῶν ἐπιστρατεύσαντας. τὰ δ’ ἐν τῇ
εἰρήνῃ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Μῆδον ἀγαθοὶ γεγενήμεθα, τὴν μὲν οὐ 30
λύσαντες τὸν πρότερον, τῷ δὲ ξυνεπιθέμενοι τότε ἐς ἐλευ-

4 ἀν Krüger: ἐν codd. ἢ ὑμῶν non legit Schol. 18 λέξεται CG?
23 δεδραμένων τεcc. : δεδρασμένων codd. 29 ἐπιστρατεύοντας M

θερίαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος μόνοι Βοιωτῶν. καὶ γὰρ ἡπειρῶται τε 4
οὗτες ἐναυμαχήσαμεν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ, μάχῃ τε τῇ ἐν τῇ
ἡμετέρᾳ γῇ γενομένῃ παρεγενόμεθα ὑμῶν τε καὶ Πανσανίᾳ·
εἴ τέ τι ἄλλο κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ἐγένετο ἐπικινδυνον
5 τοῖς Ἑλλησι, πάντων παρὰ δύναμι μετέσχομεν. καὶ ὑμῶν, 5
ὡς Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἴδιᾳ, ὅτεπερ δὴ μέγιστος φόβος περιέστη
τὴν Σπάρτην μετὰ τὸν σεισμὸν τῶν ἐς Ἰθώμην Εἰλώτων
ἀποστάντων, τὸ τρίτον μέρος ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐξεπέμψαμεν ἐς
ἐπικουρίαν· ὥν οὐκ εἰκὸς ἀμνημονεῦν.

10 ‘Καὶ τὰ μὲν παλαιὰ καὶ μέγιστα τοιοῦτοι ἡξιώσαμεν εἶναι, 55
πολέμιοι δὲ ἐγενόμεθα ὕστερον. ὑμεῖς δὲ αἴτιοι δεομένων
γὰρ ἔνυμαχίας ὅτε Θηβαῖοι ἡμᾶς ἐβιάσαντο, ὑμεῖς ἀπεώσασθε
καὶ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ἐκελεύετε τραπέσθαι ὡς ἐγγὺς ὅντας,
ἥμῶν δὲ μακρὰν ἀποικούντων. ἐν μέντοι τῷ πολέμῳ οὐδὲν 2
15 ἐκπρεπέστερον ὑπὸ ἡμῶν οὔτε ἐπάθετε οὔτε ἐμελλήσατε. εἰ 3
δ' ἀποστῆναι Ἀθηναίων οὐκ ἡθελήσαμεν ὑμῶν κελευσάντων,
οὐκ ἡδικοῦμεν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι ἐβοήθουν ἡμῶν ἐναντία
Θηβαίοις ὅτε ὑμεῖς ἀπωκνεῖτε, καὶ προδοῦναι αὐτοὺς οὐκέτι
ἥν καλόν, ἄλλως τε καὶ οὖς εὖ παθών τις καὶ αὐτὸς δεόμενος
20 προσηγάγετο ἔνυμάχους καὶ πολιτείας μετέλαβεν, λέναι δὲ
ἐσ τὰ παραγγελλόμενα εἰκὸς ἥν προθύμως. ἀ δὲ ἐκάτεροι 4
ἐξηγεῖσθε τοῖς ἔνυμάχοις, οὐχ οἱ ἐπόμενοι αἴτιοι εἴ τι μὴ
καλῶς ἐδράτο, ἀλλ' οἱ ἄγοντες ἐπὶ τὰ μὴ δρθῶς ἔχοντα.

‘Θηβαῖοι δὲ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα ἡμᾶς ἡδίκησαν, τὸ δὲ 56
25 τελευταῖον αὐτοὶ ἔνυιστε, δι' ὅπερ καὶ τάδε πάσχομεν. πόλιν 2
γὰρ αὐτοὺς τὴν ἡμετέραν καταλαμβάνοντας ἐν σπονδαῖς καὶ
προσέτι ιερομηνίᾳ δρθῶς τε ἐτιμωρησάμεθα κατὰ τὸν πᾶσι
νόμου καθεστῶτα, τὸν ἐπιόντα πολέμιον δσιον εἶναι ἀμύ-
νεσθαι, καὶ νῦν οὐκ ἀν εἰκότως δι' αὐτοὺς βλαπτούμεθα. εἰ 3
30 γὰρ τῷ αὐτίκα χρησίμῳ ὑμῶν τε καὶ ἐκείνων πολεμίῳ τὸ
δίκαιον λήψεσθε, τοῦ μὲν δρθοῦ φανεῖσθε οὐκ ἀληθεῖς κριταὶ

12 γὰρ] δὲ A B F
Poppo : ἄπερ codd.

23 ἐδράτο Απ. Bekk. : ἐδράτε codd.
27 τε om. A B E F M

25 ὅπερ
30 τε om. C [G]
d

- 4 οἵτες, τὸ δὲ ἔνυμφέροι μᾶλλον θεραπεύοντες. καίτοι εἰ τὸν
ὑμῶν ὀφέλιμοι δοκοῦσιν εἶναι, πολὺ καὶ ἡμεῖς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι
“Ελληνες μᾶλλοι τότε ὅτε ἐν μείζονι κινδύνῳ ἥτε. τὸν μὲν
γὰρ ἑτέροις ὑμεῖς ἐπέρχεσθε δειποί, ἐν ἐκείνῳ δὲ τῷ καιρῷ,
ὅτε πᾶσι δουλείαι ἐπέφερεν ὁ βάριζαρος, οἴδε μετ' αὐτοῦ 5
5 ἥστα. καὶ δίκαιον ἡμῶν τῆς τὸν ἄμαρτίας, εἰ ἄρα ἡμάρτηται
τι, ἀντιθεῖναι τὴν τότε προθυμίαν· καὶ μείζω τε πρὸς ἐλάσσω
εὑρίστετε καὶ ἐν καιροῖς οἷς σπάγοιν ἢν τῶν ‘Ελλήνων τινὰ
ἀρετὴν τῇ Ξέρξον δυνάμει ἀντιτάξασθαι, ἐπηγροῦντό τε μᾶλλον
οἱ μὴ τὰ ἔνυμφορά πρὸς τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλείᾳ πράσ- 10
σοντες, ἐθέλοιτες δὲ τολμᾶν μετὰ κινδύνων τὰ βέλτιστα.
6 ὃν ἡμεῖς γειώμενοι καὶ τιμηθέντες ἐσ τὰ πρῶτα νῦν ἐπὶ τοῖς
αὐτοῖς δέδιμεν μὴ διαφθαρῶμεν, ‘Αθηναίους ἐλόμενοι δικαίως
7 μᾶλλον ἡ ὑμᾶς κερδαλέως. καίτοι χρὴ ταῦτα περὶ τῶν
αὐτῶν ὄμοίως φαίνεσθαι γιγνώσκοντας, καὶ τὸ ἔνυμφέρον μὴ 15
ἄλλο τι τομίσαι ἡ τῶν ἔνυμάχων τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ὅταν αἱὲν
βέβαιον τὴν χάριν τῆς ἀρετῆς ἔχωσι καὶ τὸ παραντίκα που
ὑμῶν ὀφέλιμον καθιστῆται.
- 57 ‘Προσκέψασθέ τε ὅτι τὸν μὲν παράδειγμα τοῖς πολλοῖς
τῶν ‘Ελλήνων ἀγδραγαθίας τομίζεσθε· εἰ δὲ περὶ ἡμῶν 20
γνώσεσθε μὴ τὰ εἰκότα (οὐ γὰρ ἀφαιῆ κριεῖτε τὴν δίκην
τὴν δὲ, ἐπαιωύμενοι δὲ περὶ οὐδὲ ἡμῶν μεμπτῶν), ὄρατε ὅπως
μὴ οὐκ ἀποδέξωνται ἀγδρῶν ἀγαθῶν πέρι αὐτοὺς ἀμείνους
οἵτας ἀπρεπές τι ἐπιγρῶνται, οὐδὲ πρὸς ιεροῖς τοῖς κοινοῖς
σκῦλα ἀπὸ ἡμῶν τῶν εὐεργετῶν τῆς ‘Ελλάδος ἀγατεθῆναι. 25
2 δειπὸν δὲ δόξει εἶναι Πλάταιαν Λακεδαιμονίους πορθῆσαι,
καὶ τοὺς μὲν πατέρας ἀγαγράψαι ἐσ τὸν τρίποδα τὸν ἐι
Δελφοῖς δὲ ἀρετὴν τὴν πόλιν, ὑμᾶς δὲ καὶ ἐκ πατὸς τοῦ
3 ‘Ελληνικοῦ πανοικεσίᾳ διὰ Θηβαίους ἔξαλεῖψαι. ἐσ τοῦτο
γὰρ δὴ ἔνυμφορᾶς προκεχωρήκαμεν, οἵτινες Μήδων τε κρα- 30
τησάντων ἀπωλλύμεθα καὶ νῦν ἐν ὑμῶν τοῖς πρὸν φιλπάτοις

7 τι c G: om. cett. 10 αὐτοῖς M: αὐτοῖς cett. 17 ἔχουσι
Heilmann 19 προσκέψασθε Meineke 23 ἀποδέξονται ex corr. c
29 πανοικησίᾳ A B C F M 31 ἀπωλλύμεθα f: ἀπολλύμεθα codd.

Θηβαίων ἡσσώμεθα καὶ δύο ἀγῶνας τοὺς μεγίστους ὑπέ-
στημεν, τότε μέν, τὴν πόλιν εἰ μὴ παρέδομεν, λιμῷ διαφθα-
ρῆναι, νῦν δὲ θανάτου δίκη κρίνεσθαι. καὶ πέριεώσμεθα ἐκ 4
πάντων Πλαταιῆς οἱ παρὰ δύναμιν πρόθυμοι ἐς τοὺς "Ελληνας
5 ἐρῆμοι καὶ ἀτιμώρητοι" καὶ οὕτε τῶν τότε ἔνυμαχων ὥφελεῖ
οὐδεῖς, ὑμεῖς τε, ὡς Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἡ μόνη ἐλπίς, δέδιμεν μὴ
οὐ βέβαιοι ἦτε.

‘Καίτοι ἀξιοῦμέν γε καὶ θεῶν ἔνεκα τῶν ἔνυμαχικῶν ποτὲ 58
γενομένων καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς τῆς ἐς τοὺς "Ελληνας καμφθῆναι
10 ὑμᾶς καὶ μεταγνῶναι εἴ τι ὑπὸ Θηβαίων ἐπείσθητε, τήν τε
δωρεὰν ἀνταπαιτῆσαι αὐτοὺς μὴ κτείνειν οὖς μὴ ὑμῖν πρέπει,
σώφρονά τε ἀντὶ αἰσχρᾶς κομίσασθαι χάριν, καὶ μὴ ἥδονὴν
δόντας ἄλλοις κακίᾳν αὐτοὺς ἀντιλαβεῖν· βραχὺ γὰρ τὸ τὰ 2
ἡμέτερα σώματα διαφθεῖραι, ἐπίπονον δὲ τὴν δύσκλειαν
15 αὐτοῦ ἀφανίσαι. οὐκ ἔχθροὺς γὰρ ἡμᾶς εἰκότως τιμωρή-
σεσθε, ἀλλ' εὔνους, κατ' ἀνάγκην πολεμήσαντας. ὕστε καὶ 3
τῶν σωμάτων ἄδειαν ποιοῦντες ὅσια ἀν δικάζοιτε καὶ προνο-
οῦντες ὅτι ἐκόντας τε ἐλάβετε καὶ χεῖρας προϊσχομένους (ό
δε νόμος τοῖς "Ελλησι μὴ κτείνειν τούτους), ἔτι δὲ καὶ
20 εὐεργέτας γεγενημένους διὰ παντός. ἀποβλέψατε γὰρ ἐς 4
πατέρων τῶν ὑμετέρων θήκας, οὓς ἀποθανόντας ὑπὸ Μῆδων
καὶ ταφέντας ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἐτιμῶμεν κατὰ ἔτος ἔκαστον
δημοσίᾳ ἐσθήμασί τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις νομίμοις, ὅσα τε ἡ γῆ
ἡμῶν ἀνεδίδουν ὡραῖα, πάντων ἀπαρχὰς ἐπιφέροντες, εὗνοι
25 μὲν ἐκ φιλίας χώρας, ἔνυμαχοι δὲ ὄμαλχοις ποτὲ γενομέ-
νοις. ὃν ὑμεῖς τούναντίον ἀν δράσατε μὴ ὁρθῶς γνόντες.
σκέψασθέ τε· Πανσανίας μὲν γὰρ ἔθαπτεν αὐτοὺς νομίζων 5
ἐν γῇ τε φιλίᾳ τιθέναι καὶ παρ' ἀνδράσι τοιούτοις· ὑμεῖς δὲ
εἰ κτενεῦτε ἡμᾶς καὶ χώραν τὴν Πλαταιῆδα Θηβαῖδα ποιήσετε,
30 τί τι ἄλλο ἡ ἐν πολεμίᾳ τε καὶ παρὰ τοῖς αὐθένταις πατέρας
τοὺς ὑμετέρους καὶ ἔνγγενεῖς ἀτίμους γερῶν ὃν νῦν ἵσχουσι
καταλείψετε; πρὸς δὲ καὶ γῆν ἐν ᾗ ἡλευθερώθησαν οἱ

"Ελληνες δουλώσετε, ίερά τε θεῶν οῖς εὐξάμενοι Μήδων ἐκράτησαν ἐρημοῦτε καὶ θυσίας τὰς πατρίους τῶν ἐσταμένων καὶ κτισάντων ἀφαιρήσεσθε.

59 'Οὐ πρὸς τῆς ὑμετέρας δόξης, ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τάδε, οὔτε ἐσ τὰ κοινὰ τῶν Ἐλλήνων νόμιμα καὶ ἐσ τὸν προγόνους ἄμαρτάνειν οὔτε ἡμᾶς τὸν εὐεργέτας ἀλλοτρίας ἔνεκα ἔχθρας μὴ αὐτοὺς ἀδικηθέντας διαφθεῖραι, φείσασθαι δὲ καὶ ἐπικλασθῆναι τῇ γνώμῃ οἴκτῳ σώφρονι λαβόντας, μὴ ων πεισόμεθα μόνον δεινότητα κατανοοῦντας, ἀλλ' οἵοι τε ἀν δύντες πάθοιμεν καὶ ώς ἀστάθμητεν τὸ τῆς ἔνυμφορᾶς ὅπτιν¹⁰ ποτ' ἀν καὶ ἀναξίω ἔνυμπέσοι. ἡμεῖς τε, ώς πρέπον ἡμῖν καὶ ώς ἡ χρεία προάγει, αἰτούμεθα ὑμᾶς, θεοὺς τὸν δόμο βωμίους καὶ κοινοὺς τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἐπιβοώμενοι, πεῖσαι τάδε προφερόμενοι ὅρκους οὓς οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν ὕμων ἀμοθσαν μὴ ἀμνημονεῦν ἵκεται γιγνόμεθα ὑμῶν τῶν πατρών τάφων καὶ ¹⁵ ἐπικαλούμεθα τὸν κεκμηκότας μὴ γενέσθαι ὑπὸ Θηβαίοις μηδὲ τοῖς ἐχθίστοις φίλτατοι δύντες παραδοθῆναι. ἡμέρας τε ἀναμιμνήσκομεν ἐκείνης ἥ τὰ λαμπρότατα μετ' αὐτῶν πράξαντες νῦν ἐν τῇδε τὰ δεινότατα κινδυνεύομεν παθεῖν.
 3 ὅπερ δὲ ἀναγκαῖον τε καὶ χαλεπώτατον τοῖς ὧδε ἔχουσι, ²⁰ λόγου τελευτᾶν, διότι καὶ τοῦ βίου δ κίνδυνος ἐγγὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ, πανόμενοι λέγομεν ἦδη ὅτι οὐ Θηβαίοις παρέδομεν τὴν πόλιν (εἰλόμεθα γὰρ ἀν πρό γε τούτου τῷ αἰσχίστῳ δλέθρῳ λιμῷ τελευτῆσαι), ὑμῖν δὲ πιστεύσαντες προσήλθομεν (καὶ δίκαιον, εἰ μὴ πείθομεν, ἐσ τὰ αὐτὰ καταστήσαντας τὸν ²⁵
 4 ἔννυτυχόντα κίνδυνον ἔᾶσαι ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐλέσθαι), ἐπισκή πτομέν τε ἄμα μὴ Πλαταιῆς δύντες οἱ προθυμότατοι περὶ τὸν "Ἐλληνας γενόμενοι Θηβαίοις τοῖς ἡμῖν ἐχθίστοις ἐκ τῶν ὑμετέρων χειρῶν καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας πίστεως ἵκεται δύντες,

9 κατανοοῦντας C : κατανοοῦντες codd. [G] 14 προφερόμενοι C : προσφερόμενοι cett. : post προφερόμενοι add. θ' Stahl 16 κεκμηκότας C E M Pollux : κεκμηῶτας cett. et C¹ 18 μετ' αὐτῶν G¹ m : μεθ' αὐτῶν cett. 25 καταστήσαντας f G¹ m : καταστήσαντες cett. 27 οἱ om. A B E F M

ῳ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, παραδοθῆναι, γενέσθαι δὲ σωτῆρας ἡμῶν καὶ μὴ τὸν ἄλλους Ἑλληνας ἐλευθεροῦντας ἡμᾶς διολέσαι.'

Τοιαῦτα μὲν οἱ Πλαταιῆς εἶπον. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι δείσαν- 60 τες πρὸς τὸν λόγον αὐτῶν μὴ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τι ἐνδῶσι, 5 παρελθόντες ἔφασαν καὶ αὐτοὶ βούλεσθαι εἰπεῖν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐκείνοις παρὰ γνώμην τὴν αὐτῶν μακρότερος λόγος ἐδόθη τῆς πρὸς τὸ ἐρώτημα ἀποκρίσεως. ὡς δ' ἐκέλευσαν, ἔλεγον τοιάδε.

‘Τὸν μὲν λόγους οὐκ ἀν ἡτησάμεθα εἰπεῖν, εἰ καὶ αὐτοὶ 61 10 βραχέως τὸ ἐρωτηθὲν ἀπεκρίναντο καὶ μὴ ἐπὶ ἡμᾶς τραπόμενοι κατηγορίαν ἐποιήσαντο καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ἔξω τῶν προκειμένων καὶ ἄμα οὐδὲ ἡτιαμένων πολλὴν τὴν ἀπολογίαν καὶ ἔπαιων ὅν οὐδεὶς ἐμέμψατο. νῦν δὲ πρὸς μὲν τὰ ἀντειπεῖν δεῖ, τῶν δὲ ἐλεγχον ποιήσασθαι, ἵνα μήτε ἡ ἡμετέρα αὐτὸν 15 κακία ὡφελῇ μήτε ἡ τούτων δόξα, τὸ δὲ ἀληθὲς περὶ ἀμφοτέρων ἀκούσαντες κρίνητε.

‘Ημεῖς δὲ αὐτοῖς διάφοροι ἐγενόμεθα πρῶτον ὅτι ἡμῶν 2 κτισάντων Πλάταιαν ὕστερον τῆς ἄλλης Βοιωτίας καὶ ἄλλα χωρία μετ' αὐτῆς, ἢ ξυμμείκτους ἀνθρώπους ἐξελάσαντες 20 ἐσχομεν, οὐκ ἡξίονν οὖτοι, ὥσπερ ἐτάχθη τὸ πρῶτον, ἡγεμονεύεσθαι ὑφ' ἡμῶν, ἔξω δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Βοιωτῶν παραβαίνοντες τὰ πάτρια, ἐπειδὴ προσηναγκάζοντο, προσεχώρησαν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν πολλὰ ἡμᾶς ἐβλαπτον, ἀνθ' ὧν καὶ ἀντέπασχον.

25 ‘Ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ ὁ βάρβαρος ἥλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, φασὶ 62 μόνοι Βοιωτῶν οὐ μηδίσαι, καὶ τούτῳ μάλιστα αὐτοὶ τε ἀγάλλονται καὶ ἡμᾶς λοιδοροῦσιν. ἡμεῖς δὲ μηδίσαι μὲν 2 αὐτὸν οὐ φαμεν διότι οὐδὲ Ἀθηναίους, τῇ μέντοι αὐτῇ ἰδέᾳ ὕστερον ἴόντων Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλληνας μόνους αὖ 30 Βοιωτῶν ἀττικίσαι. καίτοι σκέψασθε ἐν οἴῳ εἴδει ἐκάτεροι 3 ἡμῶν τοῦτο ἐπραξαν. ἡμῶν μὲν γὰρ ἡ πόλις τότε ἐτύγχανεν

οὗτε κατ' ὀλιγαρχίαν ἵστονομον πολιτεύοντα οὗτε κατὰ δημοκρατίαν· ὅπερ δέ ἐστι νόμοις μὲν καὶ τῷ σωφρονεστάτῳ ἐναντιώτατον, ἐγγυτάτῳ δὲ τυράννου, δυναστείᾳ ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν εἶχε τὰ πράγματα. καὶ οὗτοι ἰδίας δυνάμεις ἐλπίσαντες ἔτι μᾶλλον σχήσειν εἰ τὰ τοῦ Μῆδου κρατήσειε, κατέχοντες 5 ἴσχύν τὸ πλῆθος ἐπηγάγοντο αὐτόν· καὶ ἡ ξύμπαστα πόλις οὐκ αὐτοκράτωρ οὖσα ἑαυτῆς τοῦτ' ἐπραξεν, οὐδὲ ἄξιον αὐτῇ 5 δύνειδεται ὥν μὴ μετὰ νόμων ἴμαρτεν. ἐπειδὴ γοῦν ὁ τε Μῆδος ἀπῆλθε καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἔλαβε, σκέψασθαι χρή, Ἀθηναίων ὕστερον ἐπιόντων τὴν τε ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὴν 10 ιμετέραν χώραν πειρωμένων ὑφ' αὐτοῖς ποιεῖσθαι καὶ κατὰ στάσιν ἥδη ἔχόντων αὐτῆς τὰ πολλά, εἰ μαχόμενοι ἐν Κορωνείᾳ καὶ νικήσαντες αὐτοὺς ἥλευθερώσαμεν τὴν Βοιωτίαν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νῦν προθύμως ξυνελευθεροῦμεν, ἵππους τε παρέχοντες καὶ παρασκευὴν ὅσην οὐκ ἄλλοι τῶν ξυμμάχων. 15

63 ‘Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐς τὸν μηδισμὸν τοσαῦτα ἀπολογούμεθα· ὡς δὲ ὑμεῖς μᾶλλον τε ἥδικήκατε τοὺς Ἑλληνας καὶ ἀξιώτεροί 2 ἐστε πάσης ζημίας, πειρασόμεθα ἀποφαίνειν. ἐγένεσθε ἐπὶ τῇ ἥμετέρᾳ τιμωρίᾳ, ὡς φατέ, Ἀθηναίων ξύμμαχοι καὶ πολῦται. οὐκοῦν χρῆν τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς μόνον ὑμᾶς ἐπάγεσθαι αὐτοὺς καὶ 20 μὴ ξυνεπιέναι μετ' αὐτῶν ἄλλοις, ὑπάρχον γε ὑμῶν, εἴ τι καὶ ἄκοντες προσίγεσθε ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων, τῆς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τῶνδε ἥδη ἐπὶ τῷ Μήδῳ ξυμμαχίας γεγενημένης, ἦν αὐτοὶ μάλιστα προβάλλεσθε· ἵκανή γε ἦν ἡμᾶς τε ὑμῶν ἀποτρέπειν, καὶ, τὸ μέγιστον, ἀδεῶς παρέχειν βουλεύεσθαι. 25 ἀλλ' ἔκόντες καὶ οὐ βιαζόμενοι ἔτι εἴλεσθε μᾶλλον τὰ Ἀθηναίων. καὶ λέγετε ὡς αἰσχρὸν ἦν προδοῦναι τοὺς εὐεργέτας· πολὺ δέ γε αἰσχιον καὶ ἀδικώτερον τοὺς πάντας Ἑλληνας καταπροδοῦναι, οἷς ξυνωμόσατε, ἢ Ἀθηναίους μόνους, τοὺς μὲν καταδουλουμένους τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τοὺς δὲ ἐλευθεροῦντας. 30

4 καὶ οὐκ ἵσην αὐτοῖς τὴν χάριν ἀνταπέδοτε οὐδὲ αἰσχύνης

20 ἐπάγεσθαι vulgo: ὑπάγεσθαι codd. [G]
ὑπάρχοντες E: ὑπάρχον τε cett. [G]

21 ὑπάρχον γε M:

ἀπηλλαγμένην· ὑμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀδικούμενοι αὐτούς, ὡς φατέ,
ἐπηγάγεσθε, τοῖς δὲ ἀδικοῦσιν ἄλλους ἔυνεργοὶ κατέστητε.
καίτοι τὰς δόμοις χάριτας μὴ ἀντιδιδόναι αἰσχρὸν μᾶλλον
ἢ τὰς μετὰ δικαιοσύνης μὲν ὀφειληθείσας, ἐς ἀδικίαν δὲ
5 ἀποδιδομένας. δῆλόν τε ἐποίήσατε οὐδὲ τότε τῶν Ἐλλήνων 64
ἔνεκα μόνοι οὐ μηδίσαντες, ἀλλ’ ὅτι οὐδὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὑμεῖς
δὲ τοῖς μὲν ταῦτα βουλόμενοι ποιεῦν, τοῖς δὲ τάναντία. καὶ 2
νῦν ἀξιοῦτε, ἀφ’ ὧν δι’ ἐτέρους ἐγένεσθε ἀγαθοί, ἀπὸ τούτων
ῶφελεῖσθαι. ἀλλ’ οὐκ εἰκός· ὥσπερ δὲ Ἀθηναίους εἴλεσθε,
10 τούτοις ἔνναγωνίζεσθε, καὶ μὴ προφέρετε τὴν τότε γενομένην
ἔννωμοσίαν ὡς χρὴ ἀπ’ αὐτῆς νῦν σώζεσθαι. ἀπελίπετε 3
γὰρ αὐτὴν καὶ παραβάντες ἔνγκατεδουλοῦσθε μᾶλλον Αἰγι-
νήτας καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς τῶν ἔννωμοσάντων ἢ διεκωλύετε,
καὶ ταῦτα οὕτε ἀκούτες ἔχοντές τε τοὺς νόμους οὔσπερ μέχρι
15 τοῦ δεῦρο καὶ οὐδενὸς ὑμᾶς βιασαμένου ὥσπερ ήμᾶς. τὴν
τελευταίαν τε πρὸν περιτειχίζεσθαι πρόκλησιν ἐς ἡσυχίαν
ήμων, ὡστε μηδετέροις ἀμύνειν, οὐκ ἐδέχεσθε. τίνες δὲν 4
οὖν ὑμῶν δικαιότερον πᾶσι τοῖς Ἐλλησι μισοῦντο, οἵτιες
ἐπὶ τῷ ἐκείνων κακῷ ἀνδραγαθίᾳ προύθεσθε; καὶ ἂ μέν
20 ποτε χρηστοὶ ἐγένεσθε, ὡς φατέ, οὐ προσήκοντα νῦν ἐπεδεί-
ξατε, ἂ δὲ ἡ φύσις αἰεὶ ἐβούλετο, ἐξηλέγχθη ἐς τὸ ἀληθές·
μετὰ γὰρ Ἀθηναίων ἀδικον ὅδον ἴοντων ἔχωρήσατε.

‘Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐς τὸν ἡμέτερον τε ἀκούσιον μηδισμὸν καὶ 5
τὸν ὑμέτερον ἁκούσιον ἀττικισμὸν τοιαῦτα ἀποφαίνομεν. ἀ 65
25 δὲ τελευταῖά φατε ἀδικηθῆναι (παρανόμως γὰρ ἐλθεῖν ἡμᾶς
ἐν σπονδαῖς καὶ ἱερομηνίᾳ ἐπὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν πόλιν), οὐ νομί-
ζομεν οὐδὲν ἐν τούτοις ὑμῶν μᾶλλον ἀμαρτεῖν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ 2
ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ πρός τε τὴν πόλιν ἐλθόντες ἐμαχόμεθα καὶ τὴν
γῆν ἐδησοῦμεν ὡς πολέμιοι, ἀδικοῦμεν· εἰ δὲ ἀνδρες ὑμῶν οἱ
30 πρῶτοι καὶ χρίμασι καὶ γένει, βουλόμενοι τῆς μὲν ἔξω ἔνμ-
μαχίας ὑμᾶς παῦσαι, ἐς δὲ τὰ κοινὰ τῶν πάντων Βοιωτῶν

6 ἡμεῖς A B E F M
20 ἀπεδείξατε Classen

17 ὑμῶν A E M¹
26 ἱερομηνίᾳ margo Stephani: ἱερομηνίαις codd.

18 οὖν om. A B F M

πάτρια καταστῆσαι, ἐπεκαλέσαντο ἑκόντες, τί ἀδικοῦμεν; οἱ
 3 γὰρ ἄγοντες παρανομῶσι μᾶλλον τῶν ἔπομένων. ἀλλ' οὕτ'
 ἐκεῦνοι, ὡς ἡμεῖς κρώνομεν, οὔτε ἡμεῖς· πολῖται δὲ ὅιτες
 ὥσπερ ὑμεῖς καὶ πλείω παραβαλλόμενοι, τὸ ἑαυτῶν τεῖχος
 ἀνοίξαντες καὶ ἐς τὴν αὐτῶν πόλιν φιλίως, οὐ πολεμίως 5
 κομίσαντες ἐβούλοντο τούς τε ὑμῶν χείρους μηκέτι μᾶλλον
 γενέσθαι τούς τε ἀμείνους τὰ ἄξια ἔχειν, σωφρονισταὶ ὅιτες
 τῆς γυνώμης καὶ τῶν σωμάτων τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἀλλοτριοῦντες
 ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν ἔνγγενειαν οἰκειοῦντες, ἔχθροὺς οὐδενὶ καθι-
 66 στάντες, ἅπασι δ' ὁμοίως ἐνσπόνδους. τεκμήριον δὲ ὡς οὐ 10
 πολεμίως ἐπράσπομεν· οὔτε γὰρ ἡδικήσαμεν οὐδένα, προεί-
 πομέν τε τὸν βουλόμενον κατὰ τὰ τῶν πάντων Βοιωτῶν
 2 πάτρια πολιτεύειν ἱέναι πρὸς ἡμᾶς. καὶ ὑμεῖς ἄσμενοι
 χωρήσαντες καὶ ἔνυμβασιν ποιησάμενοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἡσυ-
 χάζετε, ὕστερον δὲ κατανοήσαντες ἡμᾶς δλίγους ὄντας, εἰ 15
 ἄρα καὶ ἐδοκοῦμέν τι ἀνεπιεικέστερον πρᾶξαι οὐ μετὰ τοῦ
 πλήθους ὑμῶν ἐσελθόντες, τὰ μὲν ὁμοῖα οὐκ ἀνταπέδοτε
 ἡμῶν, μήτε νεωτερίσαι ἔργῳ λόγοις τε πείθειν ὥστε ἐξελθεῖν,
 ἐπιθέμενοι δὲ παρὰ τὴν ἔνυμβασιν, οὖς μὲν ἐν χερσὶν ἀπε-
 κτείνατε, οὐχ ὁμοίως ἀλγοῦμεν (κατὰ νόμον γὰρ δή τινα 20
 ἔπασχοι), οὖς δὲ χεῖρας προϊσχομένους καὶ ζωγρήσαντες
 ὑποσχόμενοί τε ἡμῶν ὕστερον μὴ κτενεῦν παρανόμως διεφθεί-
 3 ρατε, πῶς οὐ δεινὰ εἴργασθε; καὶ ταῦτα τρεῖς ἀδικίας ἐν
 δλίγῳ πράξαντες, τὴν τε λυθεῖσαν ὁμολογίαν καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν
 τὸν ὕστερον θάνατον καὶ τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν ἡμῶν μὴ κτενεῦν 25
 ψευσθεῖσαν ὑπόσχεσιν, ἦν τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς ὑμῶν μὴ ἀδι-
 κῶμεν, ὅμως φατὲ ἡμᾶς παρανομῆσαι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀξιοῦτε μὴ
 ἀπιδοῦναι δίκην. οὔκ, ἵν γε οὗτοι τὰ δρθὰ γιγνώσκωσιν.
 πάντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἔνεκα κολασθήσεσθε.

67 ‘Καὶ ταῦτα, ὡ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τούτου ἔνεκα ἐπεξήλθομεν 30

5 φιλίους, οὐ πολεμίους Steup 12 τῶν C : om. cett. 17 ὑμῶν
 A B E F M 18 πείθειν Classen : πέσειν codd. 22 μὴ κτενεῦν
 ὕστερον Hude 23 κἀνταῦθα Naber 25 κτενεῦν Herwerden :
 κτείνειν codd. 26 ὑπόσχεσιν A B F

καὶ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ ἡμῶν, ὥντας μὲν εἰδῆτε δικαίως αὐτῶν καταγνωσόμενοι, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἔτι ὀσιώτερον τετιμωρημένοι. καὶ μὴ παλαιὰς ἀρετάς, εἴ τις ἄρα καὶ ἐγένετο, ἀκούοντες ἐπικλασθῆτε, ἃς χρὴ τοῖς μὲν ἀδικούμενοις ἐπικούρους εἶναι, 5 τοῖς δὲ αἰσχρόν τι δρῶσι διπλασίας ζημίας, ὅτι οὐκ ἐκ προσηκόντων ἀμαρτάνονται. μηδὲ ὀλοφυρμῷ καὶ οἴκτῳ ὠφελείσθων, πατέρων τε τάφους τῶν ὑμετέρων ἐπιβούμενοι καὶ τὴν σφετέραν ἐρημίαν. καὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἀνταποφαίνομεν πολλῷ 3 δεινότερα παθοῦσαν τὴν ὑπὸ τούτων ἡλικίαν ἡμῶν διεφθαρ-
10 μένην, ὧν πατέρες οἱ μὲν πρὸς ὑμᾶς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἔγοντες ἀπέθανον ἐν Κορωνείᾳ, οἱ δὲ πρεσβύτας λελειμμένοι καὶ οἰκίαι ἐρῆμοι πολλῷ δικαιοτέραν ὑμῶν ἰκετείαν ποιοῦνται τούσδε τιμωρήσασθαι. οἴκτου τε ἀξιώτεροι τυγχάνειν οἱ 4 ἀπρεπέσ τι πάσχοντες τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οἱ δὲ δικαίως, ὥσπερ
15 οἵδε, τὰ ἐναντία ἐπίχαρτοι εἶναι. καὶ τὴν νῦν ἐρημίαν δι' 5 ἔαντοὺς ἔχουσι· τοὺς γὰρ ἀμείνοντος ἔνυμμάχους ἐκόντες ἀπεωσαντο. παρενόμησάν τε οὐ προπαθόντες ὑφ' ἡμῶν, μύσει δὲ πλέον ἡ δίκη κρίνοντες καὶ οὐκ ἀνταποδόντες νῦν τὴν ἵσην τιμωρίαν· ἔννομα γὰρ πείσονται καὶ οὐχὶ ἐκ μάχης χεῖρας
20 προϊσχόμενοι, ὥσπερ φασώ, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ ἔνυμβάσεως ἐς δίκην σφᾶς αὐτοὺς παραδόντες. ἀμύνατε οὖν, ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, 6 καὶ τῷ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νόμῳ ὑπὸ τῶνδε παραβαθέντι, καὶ ἡμῶν ἄνομα παθοῦσιν ἀνταπόδοτε χάριν δικαίαν ὧν πρόθυμοι γεγενήμεθα, καὶ μὴ τοῖς τῶνδε λόγοις περιωσθῶμεν ἐν ὑμῖν,
25 ποιήσατε δὲ τοῖς "Ἑλλησι παράδειγμα οὐ λόγων τοὺς ἀγῶνας προθήσοντες ἀλλ' ἔργων, ὧν ἀγαθῶν μὲν ὄντων βραχεῖα ἡ ἀπαγγελία ἀρκεῖ, ἀμαρτανομένων δὲ λόγοι ἐπεσι κοσμηθέντες προκαλύμματα γίγνονται. ἀλλ' ἦν οἱ ἡγεμόνες, ὥσπερ νῦν 7 ὑμεῖς, κεφαλαιώσαντες πρὸς τοὺς ἔνυμπαντας διαγνώμας
30 ποιήσησθε, ἡσσόν τις ἐπ' ἀδίκοις ἔργοις λόγους καλοὺς ζητήσει."

II κατ' οἰκίας Stahl

18 post οὐκ add. ἀν Dobree

ἀνταπο-

δώσοντες Stahl

29 post ξύμπαντας add. τὰς Hude

68 Τοιαῦτα δὲ οἱ Θηβαῖοι εἶπον. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι δικαστὰς νομίζοντες τὸ ἐπερώτημα σφίσω δρθῶς ἔξειν, εἴ τι ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀγαθὸν πεπόνθασι, διότι τόν τε ἄλλον χρόνον ἡξίουν δῆθεν αὐτὸὺς κατὰ τὰς παλαὶς Παυσανίου μετὰ τὸν Μῆδον σπονδὰς ἡσυχάζειν καὶ ὅτε ὕστερον 5 ἢ πρὸ τοῦ περιτειχίζεσθαι προείχοντο αὐτοῖς, κοινοὺς εἶναι κατ' ἐκεῖνα, ὡς οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, ἡγούμενοι τῇ ἑαυτῶν δικαίᾳ βουλήσει ἔκσπουνδοι ἥδη ὑπ' αὐτῶν κακῶς πεπονθέναι, αὖθις τὸ αὐτὸν ἔνα ἔκαστον παραγαγόντες καὶ ἐρωτῶντες, εἴ τι Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τὸν ἔνυμάχους ἀγαθὸν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ 10 δεδρακότες εἰσίν, ὅπότε μὴ φαῖεν, ἀπύγοντες ἀπέκτεινον 2 καὶ ἔξαίρετον ἐποιήσαντο οὐδένα. διέφθειραν δὲ Πλαταιῶν μὲν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐλάστους διακοσίων, Ἀθηναίων δὲ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν, οἱ ξυνεπολιορκοῦντο· γυναικας δὲ ἡνδραπόδισταν. 3 τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἐνιαυτὸν μέν τινα [Θηβαῖοι] Μεγαρέων ἀν- 15 δράσι κατὰ στάσιν ἐκπεπτωκόσι καὶ ὅσοι τὰ σφέτερα φρονοῦντες Πλαταιῶν περιῆσαν ἔδοσαν ἐνοικεῖν· ὕστερον δὲ καθελόντες αὐτὴν ἐς ἔδαφος πᾶσαν ἐκ τῶν θεμελίων ὡκοδόμησαν πρὸς τῷ Ἡραίῳ καταγάγγιον διακοσίων ποδῶν πανταχῇ, κύκλῳ οἰκήματα ἔχον κάτωθεν καὶ ἄνωθεν, καὶ ὁροφᾶς καὶ 20 θυρώμασι τοῖς τῶν Πλαταιῶν ἐχρήσαντο, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἦν ἐν τῷ τείχει ἐπιπλα, χαλκὸς καὶ σιδηρος, κλίνας κατασκευάσαντες ἀνέθεσαν τῇ Ἡρᾳ, καὶ νεὸν ἐκατόμπεδον λίθινον ὡκοδόμησαν αὐτῇ. τὴν δὲ γῆν δημοσιώσαντες ἀπεμίσθωσαν 4 ἐπὶ δέκα ἔτη, καὶ ἐνέμοντο Θηβαῖοι. σχεδὸν δέ τι καὶ τὸ 25 ξύμπαν περὶ Πλαταιῶν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὕτως ἀποτετραμμένοι ἐγένοντο Θηβαίων ἔνεκα, νομίζοντες ἐς τὸν πόλεμον 5 αὐτὸὺς ἄρτι τότε καθιστάμενον ὡφελίμους εἶναι. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ Πλάταιαν ἔτει τρίτῳ καὶ ἐνειηκοστῷ ἐπειδὴ Ἀθηναίων ἔνυμαχοι ἐγένοντο οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν.

69 Αἱ δὲ τεσσαράκοντα νῆες τῶν Πελοποννησίων αἱ Λεσβίοις

6 & secl. Heilmann
15 Θηβαῖοι secl. Classen

7 ἐκείνας Reiske ὡς secl. Badham
23 ἐκατόμπεδον C : ἐκατόμποδον cett.

βοηθοὶ ἐλθοῦσαι, ὡς τότε φεύγουσαι διὰ τοῦ πελάγους ἐκ τε τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπιδιωχθεῖσαι καὶ πρὸς τὴν Κρήτην χειμασθεῖσαι καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς σποράδες πρὸς τὴν Πελοπόννησον κατηνέχθησαι, καταλαμβάνουσιν ἐν τῇ Κυλλήνῃ τρεῖς καὶ δέκα τριήρεις
 5 Λευκαδίων καὶ Ἀμπρακιωτῶν καὶ Βραστῶν τὸν Τέλλιος ἔνυμβουλον Ἀλκίδᾳ ἐπεληλυθότα. ἐβούλοντο γὰρ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ὡς τῆς Λέσβου ἡμαρτήκεσαν, πλέον τὸ ναυτικὸν ποιήσαντες ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν πλεῦσαι στασιάζουσαν, δώδεκα μὲν ναυσὶ μόναις παρόντων Ἀθηναίων περὶ Ναύπακτον, πρὸν
 10 οὗ δὲ πλέον τι ἐπιβοηθῆσαι ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ναυτικόν, ὅπως προφθάσωσι, καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο ὁ τε Βρασίδας καὶ ὁ Ἀλκίδας πρὸς ταῦτα.

Οἱ γὰρ Κέρκυραῖοι ἐστασίαζον, ἐπειδὴ οἱ αἰχμάλωτοι ^ἢ ηλθον αὐτοῖς οἱ ἐκ τῶν περὶ Ἐπίδαμνον ναυμαχιῶν ὑπὸ¹⁵ Κορινθίων ἀφεθέντες, τῷ μὲν λόγῳ ὀκτακοσίων ταλάντων τοῖς προξένοις διηγγυημένοι, ἔργῳ δὲ πεπεισμένοι Κορινθίοις Κέρκυραν προσποιήσαι. καὶ ἐπρασσον οὖτοι, ἐκαστον τῶν πολιτῶν μετιόντες, ὅπως ἀποστήσωσιν Ἀθηναίων τὴν πόλιν.
 20 καὶ ἀφικομένης Ἀττικῆς τε νεὼς καὶ Κορινθίας πρέσβεις ἀγούσῶν καὶ ἐς λόγους καταστάντων ἐψηφίσαντο Κέρκυραῖοι Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν ἔνυμμαχοι εἶναι κατὰ τὰ ἔνυκείμενα, Πελοποννησίοις δὲ φίλοι ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον. καὶ (ἥν 3 γὰρ Πειθίας ἐθελοπρόξενός τε τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοῦ δήμου προειστήκει) ὑπάγουσιν αὐτὸν οὖτοι οἱ ἄνδρες ἐς δίκην, λέγοντες ⁴ Ἀθηναίοις τὴν Κέρκυραν καταδουλοῦν. ὁ δὲ ἀποφυγὼν ἀνθυπάγει αὐτῶν τοὺς πλουσιωτάτους πέντε ἄνδρας, φάσκων τέμνειν χάρακας ἐκ τοῦ τε Διὸς τοῦ τεμένους καὶ τοῦ Ἀλκίνου· ζημία δὲ καθ' ἐκάστην χάρακα ἐπέκειτο στατήρ. δόφλοντων δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς τὰ ίερὰ ἵκετῶν καθεζομένων 5
 30 διὰ πλῆθος τῆς ζημίας, ὅπως ταξάμενοι ἀποδῶσιν, δ Πειθίας (ἐτύγχανε γὰρ καὶ βουλῆς ὅν) πείθει ὥστε τῷ νόμῳ χρήσασθαι. οἱ δ' ἐπειδὴ τῷ τε νόμῳ ἐξείργοντο καὶ ἄμα 6

ἐπινυθάνοντο τὸν Πειθίαν, ἔως ἔτι βουλῆς ἐστί, μέλλειν τὸ πλῆθος ἀναπείσειν τὸν αὐτὸν Ἀθηναῖοι φίλους τε καὶ ἔχθροὺς νομίζειν, ἔννισταντό τε καὶ λαβόντες ἔγχειρίδια ἐξαπιναίως ἐς τὴν βουλὴν ἐσελθόντες τὸν τε Πειθίαν κτείνουσι καὶ ἄλλους τῶν τε βουλευτῶν καὶ ἰδιωτῶν ἐς ἔξη- 5 κοντα· οἱ δέ τινες τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης τῷ Πειθίᾳ δλίγοι ἐς 71 τὴν Ἀττικὴν τριήρη κατέφυγον ἔτι παροῦσαν. δράσαντες δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἔνγκαλέσαντες Κερκυραίους εἶπον ὅτι ταῦτα καὶ βέλτιστα εἴη καὶ ἡκιστ' ἀν δουλωθεῖν ύπ' Ἀθηναίων, τό τε λοιπὸν μηδετέρους δέχεσθαι ἀλλ' ἡ μιᾶς νηὶ ἡσυχά- 10 ζοντας, τὸ δὲ πλέον πολέμιον ἥγεισθαι. ὡς δὲ εἶπον, καὶ 2 ἐπικυρῶσαι ἡνάγκασαν τὴν γνώμην. πέμπουσι δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας εὐθὺς πρέσβεις περί τε τῶν πεπραγμένων διδάξοντας ὡς ἔννέφερε καὶ τὸν ἐκεῖ καταπεφευγότας πεί- σοντας μηδὲν ἀνεπιτήδειον πράσσειν, ὅπως μή τις ἐπιστροφὴ 15 72 γένηται. ἐλθόντων δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τούς τε πρέσβεις ὡς νεωτερίζοντας ἔνταξιν τε καὶ ὅσους ἔπεισαν, κατέθεντο ἐς Αἴγιναν.

2 'Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῶν Κερκυραίων οἱ ἔχοντες τὰ πράγματα ἐλθούσης τριήρους Κορινθίας καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων πρέσβεων 20 3 ἐπιτίθενται τῷ δίγμῳ, καὶ μαχόμενοι ἐνίκησαν. ἀφικομένης δὲ νυκτὸς ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ τὰ μετέωρα τῆς πόλεως καταφεύγει καὶ αὐτοῦ ἔνταξιν ἔνταξιν τοῦτον ὕδρυθη, καὶ τὸν Ὑλλαϊκὸν λιμένα εἶχον· οἱ δὲ τὴν τε ἀγορὰν κατέλαβον, οὐπερ οἱ πολλοὶ ὕπουν αὐτῶν, καὶ τὸν λιμένα τὸν πρὸς 25 73 αὐτῇ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἥπειρον. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἡκροβολίσαντό τε ὀλίγα καὶ ἐς τὸν ἀγρὸν περιέπεμπον ἀμφότεροι, τὸν δούλους παρακαλοῦντές τε καὶ ἐλευθερίαν ὑπισχνούμενοι· καὶ τῷ μὲν δίγμῳ τῶν οἰκετῶν τὸ πλῆθος παρεγένετο ἔνυμαχον, τοῖς δὲ ἐτέροις ἐκ τῆς ἥπειρου ἐπίκουροι ὀκτακόπιοι. 30 74 διαλιπούσης δὲ ἡμέρας μάχη αὐθις γίγνεται καὶ νικᾷ ὁ δῆμος χωρίων τε ἴσχυν καὶ πλήθει προύχων· αἱ τε γυναικες αὐτοῖς τολμηρῶς ἔνταξιν τε καὶ βάλλουσαι ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν τῷ κε-

ράμῳ καὶ παρὰ φύσιν ὑπομένονται τὸν θόρυβον. γενομένης 2
δὲ τῆς τροπῆς περὶ δείλην ὁφίαν, δείσαντες οἱ δλίγοι μὴ
αὐτοβοεῖ δ δῆμος τοῦ τε νεωρίου κρατήσειν ἐπελθὼν καὶ
σφᾶς διαφθείρειν, ἐμπιπρᾶσι τὰς οἰκίας τὰς ἐν κύκλῳ τῆς
5 ἀγορᾶς καὶ τὰς ἔνυοικίας, ὅπως μὴ ἦφοδος, φειδόμενοι
οὔτε οἰκείας οὔτε ἀλλοτρίας, ὥστε καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ ἐμπό-
ρων κατεκαύθη καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐκινδύνευσε πᾶσα διαφθαρῆναι,
εἰ ἄνεμος ἐπεγένετο τῇ φλογὶ ἐπίφορος ἐs αὐτήν.

Καὶ οἱ μὲν παυσάμενοι τῆς μάχης ὡς ἐκάτεροι ἡσυχά- 3
10 σαντες τὴν νύκτα ἐν φυλακῇ ἤσαν· καὶ ἡ Κορινθία ναῦς
τοῦ δήμου κεκρατηκότος ὑπεξανήγετο, καὶ τῶν ἐπικούρων
οἱ πολλοὶ ἐs τὴν ἥπειρον λαθόντες διεκομίσθησαν. τῇ δὲ 75
ἐπιγιγνομένη ἡμέρᾳ Νικόστρατος δ Διειτρέφους Ἀθηναίων
στρατηγὸς παραγίγνεται βοηθῶν ἐκ Ναυπάκτου δώδεκα ναυσὶ¹
15 καὶ Μεσσηνίων πεντακοσίοις δπλίταις· ἔνυβασίν τε ἐπρασσε
καὶ πείθει ὥστε ἔνυχωρῆσαι ἀλλήλοις δέκα μὲν ἄνδρας τοὺς
αἰτιωτάτους κρῦναι, οἱ οὐκέτι ἔμειναν, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους οἰκεῖν
σπουδὰς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ποιησαμένους καὶ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους,
ώστε τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἔχθροὺς καὶ φίλους νομίζειν. καὶ δ μὲν 2
20 ταῦτα πράξας ἔμελλεν ἀποπλεύσεσθαι· οἱ δὲ τοῦ δήμου
προστάται πείθουσιν αὐτὸν πέντε μὲν ναῦς τῶν αὐτοῦ σφίσι
καταλιπεῖν, ὅπως ἡσσόν τι ἐν κινήσει ὥσιω οἱ ἐναντίοι,
ἴσας δὲ αὐτοὶ πληρώσαντες ἐκ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἔνυπέμψειν.
καὶ δ μὲν ἔνυεχώρησεν, οἱ δὲ τοὺς ἔχθροὺς κατέλεγον ἐs 3
25 τὰς ναῦς. δείσαντες δὲ ἐκένοι μὴ ἐs τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀπο-
πεμφθῶσι καθίζονται ἐs τὸ τῶν Διοσκόρων ἱερόν. Νικό- 4
στρατος δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀνίστη τε καὶ παρεμυθεῖτο. ὡς δ' οὐκ
ἐπειθεῖν, δ δῆμος ὀπλισθεὶς ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει ταύτῃ, ὡς οὐ-
δὲν αὐτῶν ὑγίες διανοούμενων τῇ τοῦ μὴ ἔνυπλεῦ ἀπιστίᾳ,
30 τά τε ὅπλα αὐτῶν ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν ἔλαβε καὶ αὐτῶν τινὰς
οἷς ἐπέτυχον, εἰ μὴ Νικόστρατος ἐκώλυσε, διέφθειραν ἄν.
δρῶντες δὲ οἱ ἄλλοι τὰ γιγνόμενα καθίζονται ἐs τὸ Ἡραιον 5

2 δείλην ὁφίαν] τὸ δειλινόν M

26 διοσκόρων C : διοσκούρων cett.

ικέται καὶ γίγνονται οὐκ ἐλάσσους τετρακοσίων. ὁ δὲ δῆμος δείσας μή τι γεωτερίσωσιν ἀνίστησί τε αὐτοὺς πείσας καὶ διακομίζει ἐς τὴν πρὸ τοῦ Ἡραίου νῆσον, καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐκεῖσε αὐτοῖς διεπέμπετο.

- 76 Τῆς δὲ στάσεως ἐν τούτῳ οὖσης τετάρτη ἡ πέμπτη ἡμέρᾳ 5 μετὰ τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐς τὴν νῆσον διακομιδὴν αἱ ἐκ τῆς Κυλλήνης Πελοποννησίων νῆσες, μετὰ τὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἰωνίας πλοῦν ἔφορμοι οὖσαι, παραγίγνονται τρεῖς καὶ πεντήκοντα· ἥρχε δὲ αὐτῶν Ἀλκίδας, ὅσπερ καὶ πρότερον, καὶ Βρασίδας αὐτῷ ἔνυμβουλος ἐπέπλει. δρμισάμενοι δὲ ἐς Σύβοτα λιμένα 10 τῆς ἡπείρου ἄμα ἕώ ἐπέπλεον τῇ Κερκύρᾳ. οἱ δὲ πολλῷ θορύβῳ καὶ πεφοβημένοι τά τ' ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τὸν ἐπίπλουν παρεσκευάζοντό τε ἄμα ἔξήκοντα ναῦς καὶ τὰς αἰεὶ πληρουμένας ἔξεπεμπον πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους, παραινούντων Ἀθηναίων σφᾶς τε ἔσαι πρῶτον ἐκπλεῦσαι καὶ ὑστερον πάσαις ἄμα 15 2 ἐκείνους ἐπιγενέσθαι. ὡς δὲ αὐτοῖς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἥσαν σποράδες αἱ νῆσες, δύο μὲν εὐθὺς ηὔτομόλησαν, ἐν ἔτέραις δὲ ἀλλήλοις οἱ ἐμπλέοντες ἐμάχοντο, ἥν δὲ οὐδεὶς 3 κόσμος τῶν ποιουμένων. ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι τὴν ταραχὴν εἴκοσι μὲν ναυσὶ πρὸς τοὺς Κερκυραίους ἐτάξαντο, 20 ταῖς δὲ λοιπαῖς πρὸς τὰς δώδεκα ναῦς τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὥι 78 ἥσαν αἱ δύο Σαλαμιία καὶ Πάραλος. καὶ οἱ μὲν Κερκυραῖοι κακῶς τε καὶ κατ' ὀλίγας προσπίπτοντες ἐταλαιπώρουν τὸ καθ' αὐτούς· οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι φοβούμενοι τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὴν περικύκλωσιν ἀθρόαις μὲν οὐ προσέπιπτον οὐδὲ κατὰ μέσον 25 ταῖς ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς τεταγμέναις, προσβαλόντες δὲ κατὰ κέρας καταδύονται μίαν ναῦν. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κύκλου ταξαμένων αὐτῶν περιέπλεον καὶ ἐπειρῶντο θορυβεῦν. γνόντες δὲ οἱ πρὸς τοὺς Κερκυραίους καὶ δείσαντες μὴ ὅπερ ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ γένοιτο, ἐπιβοηθοῦσι, καὶ γενόμεναι ἀθρόαι αἱ νῆσες ἄμα τὸν 30 3 ἐπίπλουν τοὺς Ἀθηναῖοις ἐποιοῦντο. οἱ δ' ὑπεχώρουν ἥδη

8 ἐφ' ὅρμῳ Stahl
codd.

23 ἐταλαιπώρουν τὸ Haase : ἐταλαιπωροῦντο

πρύμναι κρουόμενοι καὶ ἄμα τὰς τῶν Κερκυραίων ἐβούλοντο προκαταφυγεῖν ὅτι μάλιστα, ἔαυτῶν σχολῇ τε ὑποχωρούντων καὶ πρὸς σφᾶς τεταγμένων τῶν ἐναντίων.

‘Η μὲν οὖν ναυμαχία τοιαύτη γεγομένη ἐτελεύτα ἐς ἥλιον 4
 5 δύσιν, καὶ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι δείσαντες μὴ σφίσιν ἐπιπλεύσαντες 79
 ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ὡς κρατοῦντες οἱ πολέμιοι ἦ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς
 νήσου ἀναλάβωσιν ἦ καὶ ἄλλο τι νεωτερίσωσι, τούς τε ἐκ
 τῆς νήσου πάλιν ἐς τὸ “Ηραιον διεκόμισαν καὶ τὴν πόλιν
 ἐφύλασσον. οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν πλεῦσαι 2
 10 κρατοῦντες τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, τρεῖς δὲ καὶ δέκα ναῦς ἔχοντες τῶν
 Κερκυραίων ἀπέπλευσαν ἐς τὴν ἥπειρον, ὅθενπερ ἀνηγάγοντο.
 τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν πόλιν οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐπέπλεον, 3
 καίπερ ἐν πολλῇ ταραχῇ καὶ φόβῳ ὄντας καὶ Βρασίδου
 παραινούντος, ὡς λέγεται, ‘Αλκίδᾳ, ἴσοψήφου δὲ οὐκ ὄντος·
 15 ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν Λευκίμμην τὸ ἀκρωτήριον ἀποβάντες ἐπόρθουν
 τοὺς ἀγρούς. ὁ δὲ δῆμος τῶν Κερκυραίων ἐν τούτῳ περιδεής 80
 γενούμενος μὴ ἐπιπλεύσωσιν αἱ νῆσοι, τοῖς τε ἵκεταις ἥσαν
 ἐς λόγους καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὅπως σωθήσεται ἡ πόλις, καὶ
 τινας αὐτῶν ἐπεισαν ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἐσβῆναι· ἐπλήρωσαν γὰρ
 20 ὅμως τριάκοντα προσδεχόμενοι τὸν ἐπίπλουν. οἱ δὲ Πελο- 2
 ποννήσιοι μέχρι μέσου ἡμέρας δηώσαντες τὴν γῆν ἀπέπλευ-
 σαν, καὶ ὑπὸ τούκτα αὐτοῖς ἐφρυκτωρήθησαν ἐξήκοντα τῆς
 ‘Αθηναίων προσπλέουσαι ἀπὸ Λευκάδος· ἂς οἱ ‘Αθηναῖοι
 πυνθανόμενοι τὴν στάσιν καὶ τὰς μετ’ Ἀλκίδου ναῦς ἐπὶ
 25 Κέρκυραν μελλούσας πλεῦν ἀπέστειλαν καὶ Εύρυμέδοντα τὸν
 Θουκλέους στρατηγόν. οἱ μὲν οὖν Πελοποννήσιοι τῆς τυκτὸς 81
 εὐθὺς κατὰ τάχος ἐκομίζοντο ἐπ’ οἴκου παρὰ τὴν γῆν· καὶ
 ὑπερενεγκόντες τὸν Λευκαδίων ἰσθμὸν τὰς ναῦς, ὅπως μὴ
 περιπλέοντες ὀφθῶσιν, ἀποκομίζονται. Κερκυραῖοι δὲ αἱ- 2
 30 σθόμενοι τὰς τε ‘Αττικὰς ναῦς προσπλεούσας τὰς τε τῶν
 πολεμίων οἰχομένας, λαβόντες τούς τε Μεσσηνίους ἐς τὴν

8 πάλιν G : πάλαι cett.
 δὲ codd. (δὲ om. B M)

10 τρεῖς δὲ καὶ δέκα vulgo : τρισκαίδεκα
 15 Λευκίμμην C G 20 προσδεχόμενοι
 τὸν ἐπίπλουν om. A B F 28 τὸν ac : τῶν codd. [G]

πόλιν ἥγαγον πρότερον ἔξω ὅντας, καὶ τὰς ναῦς περιπλέυσαι κελεύσατες ἀς ἐπλήρωσαν ἐς τὸν Ὄλλαικὸν λιμένα, ἐν ᾧ σώπερ εἰπεικομίζοντο, τῶν ἔχθρῶν εἴ τινα λάβοιεν, ἀπέκτεινον· καὶ ἐκ τῶν νεῶν ὅσους ἔπεισαν ἐσβῆναι ἐκβιβάζοντες ἀπεχρῶντο, ἐς τὸ Ἡραιόν τε ἐλθόντες τῶν ἱκετῶν ὡς πεντήκοντα 5 ἄιδρας δίκην ὑποσχέων ἔπεισαν καὶ κατέγνωσαν πάντων θά-
3 νατοι. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν ἱκετῶν, ὅσοι οὐκ ἔπεισθησαν, ὡς
έώρων τὰ γιγνόμενα, διέφθειρον αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ἵερῳ ἀλλήλους,
καὶ ἐκ τῶν δένδρων τινὲς ἀπίγχοντο, οἱ δ' ὡς ἔκαστοι
4 ἐδύναντο ἀνηλοῦντο. ἡμέρας τε ἔπτά, ἀς ἀφικόμενος ὁ 10
Εὐρυμέδων ταῖς ἔξήκοντα ναυσὶ παρέμεινε, Κερκυραῖοι σφῶν
αὐτῶν τοὺς ἔχθρους δοκοῦντας εἶναι ἐφόνευον, τὴν μὲν αἰτίαν
ἐπιφέροντες τοὺς τὸν δῆμον καταλύουσιν, ἀπέθανον δέ τινες
5 καὶ ἰδίας ἔχθρας ἔνεκα, καὶ ἄλλοι χρημάτων σφίσιν ὀφειλο-
μένων ὑπὸ τῶν λαβόντων· πᾶσά τε ἰδέα κατέστη θανάτου, 15
καὶ οἷον φιλεῖ ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ γίγνεσθαι, οὐδὲν ὅτι οὐ ξυνέβη
καὶ ἔτι περαιτέρω. καὶ γὰρ πατὴρ παῖδα ἀπέκτεινε καὶ ἀπὸ
τῶν ἱερῶν ἀπεσπάντο καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῖς ἐκτείνοντο, οἱ δέ τινες
καὶ περιοικοδομηθέντες ἐν τοῦ Διονύσου τῷ ἱερῷ ἀπέθανον.
82 Οὕτως ὡμὴ *ἥ* στάσις προυχώρησε, καὶ ἔδοξε μᾶλλον, 20
διότι ἐν τοῖς πρώτῃ ἐγένετο, ἐπεὶ ὕστερόν γε καὶ πᾶν ὡς
εἰπεῖν τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐκινήθη, διαφορῶν οὐσῶν ἐκασταχοῦ
τοῖς τε τῶν δήμων προστάταις τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐπάγεσθαι
καὶ τοῖς ὀλίγοις τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. καὶ ἐν μὲν εἰρήνῃ
οὐκ ἄν ἔχόντων πρόφασιν οὐδὲ ἐτοίμων παρακαλεῖν αὐτούς, 25
πολεμουμένων δὲ καὶ ξυμμαχίας ἄμα ἐκατέροις τῇ τῶν ἐναν-
τίων κακώσει καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ προσποιήσει
ῥᾳδίως αἱ ἐπαγωγαὶ τοῖς νεωτερίζειν τι βουλομένοις ἐπορί-
2 ζοντο. καὶ ἐπέπεσε πολλὰ καὶ χαλεπὰ κατὰ στάσιν ταῖς
πόλεσι, γιγνόμενα μὲν καὶ αἰεὶ ἐσόμενα, ἔως ἂν ἡ αὐτὴ 30
φύσις ἀνθρώπων ἦ, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἡσυχαίτερα καὶ τοῖς εἴδεσι

4 ἀπεχρῶντο γρ. C F M An. Bekk. Suid. : ἀπεχώρησαν codd. : ἀνε-
χρῶντο Dion. Hal. 8 διέφθειρον G M Dion. Hal. : διέφθειραν cett.
20 ἦ add. Krüger 31 post φύσις add. τῶν B [G]

διηλλαγμένα, ὡς ἀν ἔκασται αἱ μεταβολαὶ τῶν ξυντυχιῶν ἐφιστῶνται. ἐν μὲν γὰρ εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἀγαθοῖς πράγμαστα αἱ τε πόλεις καὶ οἱ ἰδιῶται ἀμείνους τὰς γνώμας ἔχουσι διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐσ ἀκούσιον ἀνάγκας πίπτειν· ὁ δὲ πόλεμος ὑφελῶν τὴν 5 εὐπορίαν τοῦ καθ' ἥμέραν βίαιος διδάσκαλος καὶ πρὸς τὰ παρόντα τὰς ὄργας τῶν πολλῶν ὅμοιοι. ἐστατίαζε τε οὖν 3 τὰ τῶν πόλεων, καὶ τὰ ἐφυστερίζοντά που πύστει τῶν προγενομέρων πολὺ ἐπέφερε τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ καινοῦσθαι τὰς διανοίας τῶν τ' ἐπιχειρήσεων περιτεχνήσει καὶ τῶν τιμωριῶν 10 ἀτοπίᾳ. καὶ τὴν εἰωθυῖαν ἀξίωσιν τῶν ὀγομάτων ἐσ τὰ 4 ἔργα ἀντῆλλαξαν τῇ δικαιώσει. τόλμα μὲν γὰρ ἀλόγιστος ἀνδρεία φιλέταιρος ἐνομίσθη, μέλλησις δὲ προμηθῆσ δειλία εὐπρεπής, τὸ δὲ σῶφρον τοῦ ἀνάνδρου πρόσχημα, καὶ τὸ πρὸς ἄπαν ξυνετὸν ἐπὶ πᾶν ἀργόν· τὸ δ' ἐμπλήκτως ὀξὺ 15 ἀνδρὸς μοίρα προσετέθη, ἀσφαλείᾳ δὲ τὸ ἐπιβουλεύσασθαι ἀποτροπῆς πρόφασις εὐλογος. καὶ ὁ μὲν χαλεπαίνων πιστὸς 5 αἰεί, δ' ἀντιλέγων αὐτῷ ὕποπτος. ἐπιβουλεύσας δέ τις τυχῶν ξυνετὸς καὶ ὑπονοήσας ἔτι δεινότερος προβουλεύσας δὲ ὅπως μηδὲν αὐτῶν δεήσει, τῆς τε ἐταιρίας διαλυτῆς καὶ 20 τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐκπεπληγμένος. ἀπλῶς δὲ ὁ φθάσας τὸν μέλλοντα κακόν τι δρᾶν ἐπηγεῖτο, καὶ ὁ ἐπικελεύσας τὸν μὴ διανοούμενον. καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸ ξυγγενὲς τοῦ ἐταιρικοῦ 6 ἀλλοτριώτερον ἐγένετο διὰ τὸ ἐτοιμότερον εἶναι ἀπροφασίστως τολμᾶν· οὐ γὰρ μετὰ τῶν κειμένων νόμων ὠφελίας αἱ 25 τοιαῦται ξύνοδοι, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοὺς καθεστῶτας πλεονεξίᾳ. καὶ τὰς ἐσ σφᾶς αὐτὸὺς πίστεις οὐ τῷ θείῳ νόμῳ μᾶλλον ἐκρατύνοντο ἢ τῷ κοινῇ τι παρανομῆσαι. τά τε ἀπὸ τῶν 7 ἐναντίων καλῶς λεγόμενα ἐνεδέχοντο ἔργων φυλακῆς, εἰ προύχοιεν, καὶ οὐ γενναιότητι. ἀντιτιμωρήσασθαί τέ τινα 30 περὶ πλείονος ἦν ἢ αὐτὸν μὴ προπαθεῖν. καὶ ὄρκοι εἴ που

1 ἔκασται C : ἔκαστα cett. [G] 7 ἀποπύστει F M : ἐπιπύστει
Dion. Hal. 15 ἀσφαλείᾳ B f g M Schol.: ἀσφάλεια cett. 18 post
τυχῶν add. τε Dion. Hal. 20 δὲ] τε Haase 24 ὠφελίᾳ
Popro

ἄρα γένοιτο ἔνταλλαγῆς, ἐν τῷ αὐτίκα πρὸς τὸ ἄπορον
 ἐκατέρῳ διδόμειοι ἵσχυον οὐκ ἔχόντων ἀλλοθεν δύναμιν· ἐν
 δὲ τῷ παρατυχόντι ὁ φθάσας θαρσῆσαι, εἰ τοῖς ἄφαρκτοι,
 ηὖδιον διὰ τὴν πίστων ἐτιμωρεῦτο ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς, καὶ
 τό τε ἀσφαλὲς ἐλογίζετο καὶ ὅτι ἀπάτῃ περιγενόμενος ἔννε- 5
 σεως ἀγώνισμα προσελάμβανεν. ἥπον δ' οἱ πολλοὶ κακοῦργοι
 ὄντες δεξιοὶ κέκληνται ἢ ἀμαθεῖς ἀγαθοί, καὶ τῷ μὲν αἰσχύ-
 λονται, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ ἀγάλλονται. πάντων δ' αὐτῶν αἴτιοι
 ἀρχὴ ἡ διὰ πλεονεξίαν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν· ἐκ δ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐς
 τὸ φιλονικεῖν καθισταμένων τὸ πρέθυμον. οἱ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς 10
 πόλεσι προστάντες μετὰ ὀγόματος ἐκάτεροι εὐπρεποῦς, πλή-
 θους τε ἴσονομίας πολιτικῆς καὶ ἀριστοκρατίας σώφρονος
 προτιμήσει, τὰ μὲν κοινὰ λόγῳ θεραπεύοντες ἀθλα ἐποιοῦντο,
 παντὶ δὲ τρόπῳ ἀγωνιζόμενοι ἀλλήλων περιγίγνεσθαι ἐτόλμη-
 σάν τε τὰ δεινότατα ἐπεξῆσάν τε τὰς τιμωρίας ἔτι μείζους, 15
 οὐ μέχρι τοῦ δικαίου καὶ τῇ πόλει ἔνυμφόρου προτιθέντες, ἐς
 δὲ τὸ ἐκατέροις πον αἰεὶ ἥδονιν ἔχον δρίζοντες, καὶ ἣ μετὰ
 ψήφου ἀδίκου καταγνώσεως ἢ χειρὶ κτώμενοι τὸ κρατεῖν
 ἐτοῦμοι ἦσαν τὴν αὐτίκα φιλονικίαν ἐκπιμπλάγαι. ὥστε
 εὐσεβείᾳ μὲν οὐδέτεροι ἐνόμιζον, εὐπρεπείᾳ δὲ λόγου οἷς 20
 ἔνυμβαίη ἐπιφθόρως τι διαπράξασθαι, ἀμεινον ἥκοντο.
 τὰ δὲ μέστα τῶν πολιτῶν ὑπὸ ἀμφοτέρων ἢ ὅτι οὐ ἔντηγωνίζοντο
 ἢ φθόνῳ τοῦ περιεῶαι διεφθείροντο.

- 83 Οὕτω πᾶσα ἰδέα κατέστη κακοτροπίας διὰ τὰς στάσεις
 τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ, καὶ τὸ εὐηθεῖς, οὐ τὸ γενναῖον πλεῖστον μετ- 25
 ἔχει, καταγελασθὲν ἡφαίσθη, τὸ δὲ ἀντιτετάχθαι ἀλλήλοις
 2 τῇ γνώμῃ ἀπίστως ἐπὶ πολὺ διήνεγκεν· οὐ γὰρ ἦν διαλύ-
 σων οὔτε λόγος ἔχυρὸς οὔτε δρκος φοβερός, κρείστονς δὲ
 ὄντες ἄπαντες λογισμῷ ἐς τὸ ἀνέλπιστον τοῦ βεβαίου μὴ
 3 παθεῖν μᾶλλον προυσκόπουν ἢ πιστεῦσαι ἐδύναντο. καὶ οἱ 30
 φαυλότεροι γνώμην ὡς τὰ πλείω περιεγίγνοντο· τῷ γὰρ

. 8 αἴτιον secl. Madvig
 Dion. Hal.

9 ἢ secl. Hude

16 προστιθέντες

δεδιέναι τό τε αὐτῶν ἐνδεεῖς καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων ἔννεπον,
μὴ λόγοις τε ἡσπους ὥστι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πολυτρόπου αὐτῶν τῆς
γνώμης φθάσωσι προεπιβούλευόμενοι, τολμηρῶς πρὸς τὰ
ἔργα ἔχώρουν. οἱ δὲ καταφρονοῦντες καν προαισθέσθαι καὶ 4
5 ἔργῳ οὐδὲν σφᾶς δεῦ λαμβάνειν ἢ γνώμῃ ἔξεστιν, ἄφαρκτοι
μᾶλλον διεφθείροντο.

[Ἐν δ’ οὖν τῇ Κερκύρᾳ τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν προυτολμήθη, 84
καὶ ὅπόστα ὕβρει μὲν ἀρχόμενοι τὸ πλέον ἡ σωφροσύνη ὑπὸ²
τῶν τὴν τιμωρίαν παρασχόντων οἱ ἀνταμνόμενοι δράσειαν,
10 πενίας δὲ τῆς εἰωθυίας ἀπαλλαξείοντές τινες, μάλιστα δ’ ἀν
διὰ πάθους, ἐπιθυμοῦντες τὰ τῶν πέλας ἔχειν, παρὰ δίκην
γιγνώσκοιεν, οἵ τε μὴ ἐπὶ πλεονεξίᾳ, ἀπὸ ἵσου δὲ μάλιστα
ἐπιόντες ἀπαιδευσίᾳ ὅργῆς πλεῖστον ἐκφερόμενοι ὡμῶς καὶ
ἀπαραιτήτως ἐπέλθοιεν. ἔνταραχθέντος τε τοῦ βίου ἐς 2
15 τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον τῇ πόλει καὶ τῶν νόμων κρατήσασα ἡ
ἀνθρωπεία φύσις, εἰωθυῖα καὶ παρὰ τοὺς νόμους ἀδικεῶν,
ἀσμένη ἐδήλωσεν ἀκρατής μὲν ὅργῆς οὐσα, κρείσσων δὲ
τοῦ δικαίου, πολεμία δὲ τοῦ προύχοντος οὐ γὰρ ἀν τοῦ
τε δσίου τὸ τιμωρεῖσθαι προτίθεσαν τοῦ τε μὴ ἀδικεῶν
20 τὸ κερδαίνειν, ἐν φῷ μὴ βλάπτουσαν ἰσχὺν εἶχε τὸ φθονεῶν.
ἀξιοῦσί τε τοὺς κοινοὺς περὶ τῶν τοιούτων οἱ ἀνθρωποι 3
νόμους, ἀφ’ ὧν ἀπαστρ ἐλπὶς ὑπόκειται σφαλεῖσι καν αὐ-
τοὺς διασώζεσθαι, ἐν ἄλλων τιμωρίαις προκαταλύειν καὶ μὴ
ὑπολείπεσθαι, εἴ ποτε ἄρα τις κιδνυεύσας τιὸς δεήσεται
25 αὐτῶν.]

Οἱ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν Κερκυραῖοι τοιαύταις ὅργαις 85
ταῖς πρώταις ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐχρήσαντο, καὶ ὁ Εὐρυμέδων καὶ
οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπέπλευσαν ταῖς ναυσίν· ὕστερον δὲ οἱ φεύ-²
γοντες τῶν Κερκυραίων (διεσώθησαν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐς πεντα-
30 κοσίους) τείχη τε λαβόντες, ἢ ἦν τῇ ἡπείρῳ, ἐκράτουν
τῆς πέραν οἰκείας γῆς καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς ὄρμώμενοι ἐλήζοντο

c. 84 damnaverunt grammatici apud Schol. 8 ὅπόστα ἀν Hude
10 τινες f Schol.: τινας codd. 31 ἐλήζον A B E F M γρ. G

τοὺς ἐν τῇ γῆσφ καὶ πολλὰ ἔβλαπτον, καὶ λιμὸς ἴσχυρὸς
 3 ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ πόλει. ἐπρεσβεύοντο δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Λακε-
 δαίμογα καὶ Κόρινθον περὶ καθόδου καὶ ὡς οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς
 ἐπράσπετο, ὑστερον χρόνῳ πλοῦτα καὶ ἐπικούρους παρασκευα-
 σάμενοι διέβησαν ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἔξακόσιοι μάλιστα οἱ πάντες,
 5 καὶ τὰ πλοῦτα ἐμπρήσατες, ὅπως ἀπόγνοια ἦ τοῦ ἄλλο τι ἢ
 κρατεῖν τῆς γῆς, ἀναβάντες ἐς τὸ ὄρος τὴν Ἰστώην, τεῖχος
 ἐνοικοδομησάμενοι ἔφθειρον τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τῆς γῆς
 ἐκράτουν.

86 Τοῦ δὲ αὐτοῦ θέρους τελευτῶντος Ἀθηναῖοι εἴκοσι γαῦς
 10 ἐπτειλαν ἐς Σικελίαν καὶ Λάχητα τὸν Μελανώπου στρατηγὸν
 2 αὐτῶν καὶ Χαροιάδην τὸν Εύφιλήτον. οἱ γὰρ Συρακόσιοι
 καὶ Λεοντῖοι ἐς πόλεμον ἀλλήλοις καθέστασαν. ξύμμαχοι
 δὲ τοῖς μὲν Συρακοσίοις ἦσαν πλὴν Καμαριώνων αἱ ἄλλαι
 Δωρίδες πόλεις, αἵπερ καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τὸ
 15 πρῶτον ἀρχομένου τοῦ πολέμου ξύμμαχίαν ἐτάχθησαν, οὐ
 μέριτοι ξυνεπολέμησάν γε, τοῖς δὲ Λεοντίοις αἱ Χαλκιδικαὶ
 πόλεις καὶ Καμάρινα· τῆς δὲ Ἰταλίας Λοκροὶ μὲν Συρα-
 3 κοπίων ἦσαν, Ρηγῶνοι δὲ κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενὲς Λεοντίων. ἐς
 οὖν τὰς Ἀθήνας πέμψαντες οἱ τῶν Λεοντίνων ξύμμαχοι κατά
 20 τε παλαιὰν ξύμμαχίαν καὶ ὅτι Ἰωνες Ἠσαν πείθοντι τοὺς
 Ἀθηναίους πέμψαι σφίσι ταῦς ὑπὸ γὰρ τῶν Συρακοσίων
 4 τῆς τε γῆς εἴργοντο καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης. καὶ ἐπεμψαν οἱ
 Ἀθηναῖοι τῆς μὲν οἰκειότητος προφάσει, βουλόμενοι δὲ μήτε
 σῆτον ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἀγεσθαι αὐτόθεν πρόπειράν τε
 25 ποιούμενοι εἰ σφίσι δυνατὰ εἴη τὰ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ πράγματα
 5 ὑποχείρια γενέσθαι. καταστάντες οὖν ἐς Ρήγιον τῆς Ἰτα-
 λίας τὸν πόλεμον ἐποιοῦντο μετὰ τῶν ξυμμάχων. καὶ τὸ
 θέρος ἐτελεύτα.

87 Τοῦ δὲ ἐπιγιγνομένου χειμῶνος ἡ νόσος τὸ δεύτερον ἐπέ-
 30 πεσε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐκλιποῦσα μὲν οὐδένα χρόνον τὸ
 2 παντάπασιν, ἐγένετο δέ τις ὅμως διοκωχή. παρέμεινε δὲ
 τὸ μὲν ὑστερον οὐκ ἔλασσον ἐγιαυτοῦ, τὸ δὲ πρότερον καὶ

δύο ἔτη, ὥστε Ἀθηναίους γε μὴ εἶναι ὅτι μᾶλλον τούτου
ἐπίεσε καὶ ἐκάκωσε τὴν δύναμιν τετρακοσίων γὰρ ὄπλιτῶν 3
καὶ τετρακισχιλίων οὐκ ἐλάστους ἀπέθαγον ἐκ τῶν τάξεων
καὶ τριακοσίων ἵππεων, τοῦ δὲ ἄλλου ὅχλου ἀνεξεύρετος
5 ἀριθμός. ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ σεισμοὶ τότε τῆς γῆς, 4
ἔν τε Ἀθήναις καὶ ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ καὶ ἐν Βοιωτοῖς καὶ μάλιστα
ἐν Ὀρχομενῷ τῷ Βοιωτίῳ.

Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐν Σικελίᾳ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Ἄργυροι τοῦ αὐτοῦ 88
χειμῶντος τριάκοντα ναυσὶ στρατεύοντις ἐπὶ τὰς Αἰόλους νήσους
10 καλούμενας· θέρους γὰρ δι’ ἀνυδρίαν ἀδύνατα ἦν ἐπιστρα-
τεύειν. νέμονται δὲ Λιπαραῖοι αὐτάς, Κριδίων ἄποικοι ὄντες. 2
οἰκοῦσι δ’ ἐν μιᾷ τῶν νήσων οὐ μεγάλῃ, καλεῖται δὲ Λιπάρα.
τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ἐκ ταύτης ὁρμώμενοι γεωργοῦσι, Διδύμην καὶ
Στρογγύλην καὶ Ἱεράν. νομίζουσι δὲ οἱ ἐκείνη ἀνθρωποι 3
15 ἐν τῇ Ἱερᾷ ὡς δ’ Ἡφαιστος χαλκεύει, ὅτι τὴν νύκτα φαίνεται
πῦρ ἀναδιδοῦσα πολὺ καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν καπνόν. κεῦνται δὲ
αἱ νῆσοι αὖται κατὰ τὴν Σικελῶν καὶ Μεσσηνίων γῆν, ξύμ-
μαχοι δ’ ἦσαν Συρακοσίων. τεμόντες δ’ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν 4
γῆν, ὡς οὐ προσεχώρουν, ἀπέπλευσαν ἐς τὸ Ἄργιον. καὶ
20 δὲ χειμῶν ἐτελεύτα, καὶ πέμπτον ἔτος τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα
τῷδε δὲ Θουκδίδης ξυνέγραψεν.

Τοῦ δὲ ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους Πελοποννήσου καὶ οἱ ξύμ- 89
μαχοι μέχρι μὲν τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ἥλθον ὡς ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν
ἐσβαλοῦντες, "Αγιδος τοῦ Ἀρχιδάμου ἡγουμένου Λακεδαιμο-
25 νίων βασιλέως, σεισμῷ δὲ γενομένων πολλῶν ἀπετράποντο
πάλιν καὶ οὐκ ἐγένετο ἐσβολή. καὶ περὶ τούτους τοὺς χρό- 2
νους, τῶν σεισμῶν κατεχόντων, τῆς Εὐβοίας ἐν Ὀροβίαις
ἡ θάλασσα ἐπανελθοῦσα ἀπὸ τῆς τότε οὔσης γῆς καὶ κυμα-
τωθεῖσα ἐπῆλθε τῆς πόλεως μέρος τι, καὶ τὸ μὲν κατέκλυσε,

I, 2 Ἀθηναίους . . . δύναμιν C et γρ. A B F (τε pro γε A B c F, τούς τους omnes, sed s in C paene erasum, post καὶ add. μᾶλλον Λ B F) : Ἀθηναίους γε μὴ εἶναι ὅτι μᾶλλον ἐκάκωσε τὴν δύναμιν cett. [G] 5 τότε σεισμοὶ A B E F M [G] 6 alterum ἐν C : om. cett. [G] 28 ἐπανελθοῦσα Schol. : ἐπελθοῦσα codd.

τὸ δ' ὑπενόστησε, καὶ θάλασσα νῦν ἐστὶ πρότερον οὖσα γῆ·
 καὶ ἀνθρώπους διέφθειρεν ὅσοι μὴ ἐδύναντο φθῆναι πρὸς τὰ
 3 μετέωρα ἀναδραμόντες. καὶ περὶ Ἀταλάντην τὴν ἐπὶ Λοκροῦς
 τοῖς Ὀπουντίοις ἠῆσον παραπλησία γίγνεται ἐπίκλυσις, καὶ
 τοῦ τε φρουρίου τῶν Ἀθηναίων παρεῖλε καὶ δύο νεῶν ἀνειλ- 5
 4 κυσμένων τὴν ἐτέραν κατέαξεν. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ ἐν Πεπαρίθῳ
 κύματος ἐπαναχώρησίς τις, οὐ μέντοι ἐπέκλυσέ γε· καὶ
 σεισμὸς τοῦ τείχους τι κατέβαλε καὶ τὸ πρυτανεῖον καὶ
 5 ἄλλας οἰκίας δλίγας. αἴτιον δ' ἔγωγε νομίζω τοῦ τοιούτου,
 ἥτις χυρότατος δ σεισμὸς ἐγένετο, κατὰ τοῦτο ἀποστέλλειν 10
 τε τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ἔξαπάνης πάλιν ἐπισπωμένην βιαιότερον
 τὴν ἐπίκλυσιν ποιεῖν· ἀνευ δὲ σεισμοῦ οὐκ ἂν μοι δοκεῖ τὸ
 τοιούτο ξυμβῆναι γενέσθαι.

90 Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους ἐπολέμουν μὲν καὶ ἄλλοι, ὡς ἐκάστοις
 ἔντειθαιεν, ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ Σικελιῶται ἐπ' ἀλλή- 15
 λους στρατεύοντες καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ξὺν τοῖς σφετέροις ξυμ-
 μάχοις· ἀ δὲ λόγου μάλιστα ἄξια ἥ μετὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων οἱ
 2 ξύμμαχοι ἐπραξαν ἥ πρὸς τὸν Ἀθηναῖον οἱ ἀντιπόλεμοι,
 τούτων μηνσθήσομαι. Χαροιάδον γὰρ ἦδη τοῦ Ἀθηναίων
 στρατηγοῦ τεθυηκότος ὑπὸ Συρακοσίων πολέμῳ Λάχης ἄπα- 20
 σαν ἔχων τῶν νεῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐστράτευσε μετὰ τῶν ξυμμάχων
 ἐπὶ Μυλᾶς τὰς Μεσσηνίων. ἔτυχον δὲ δύο φυλαὶ ἐν ταῖς
 Μυλαῖς τῶν Μεσσηνίων φρουροῦσαι καὶ τινα καὶ ἐνέδραν
 3 πεποιημέναι τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ
 ξύμμαχοι τούς τε ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας τρέπουσι καὶ διαφθείρουσι 25
 πολλούς, καὶ τῷ ἐρύματι προσβαλόντες ἡνάγκασαν ὁμολογίᾳ
 τίνι τε ἀκρόπολιν παραδοῦναι καὶ ἐπὶ Μεσσηνην ἐνστρατεῦ-
 4 σαι. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπελθόντων οἱ Μεσσηνῖοι τῶν τε
 Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων προσεχώρησαν καὶ αὐτοῖς,
 διμήρους τε δώντες καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πιστὰ παρασχόμενοι. 30

91 Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τριάκοντα μὲν ναῦς

τι ἐπισπάμενον, ut videtur, legit Schol. 18 ἀντιπόλεμοι Pollux:
 ἀντιπολέμιοι codd. 22 post τὰς add. τῶν ΑΒΕΦΜ [G]

ἐστειλαν περὶ Πελοπόννησον, ὃν ἐστρατήγει Δημοσθένης τε ὁ Ἀλκισθένους καὶ Προκλῆς ὁ Θεοδώρου, ἔξήκοντα δὲ ἐς Μῆλον καὶ δισχιλίους ὄπλιτας· ἐστρατήγει δὲ αὐτῶν Νικίας δ Νικηράτου. τοὺς γὰρ Μηλίους ὅντας νησιώτας καὶ οὐκ 2 5 ἐθέλοντας ὑπακούειν οὐδὲ ἐς τὸ αὐτῶν ἔυμμαχικὸν λέναι ἐβούλοντο προσαγαγέσθαι. ὡς δὲ αὐτοῖς δηουμένης τῆς 3 γῆς οὐ προσεχώρουν, ἀφαντες ἐκ τῆς Μήλου αὐτοὶ μὲν ἔπλευσαν ἐς Ὁρωπὸν τῆς Γραϊκῆς, ὑπὸ νύκτα δὲ σχόντες εὐθὺς ἐπορεύοντο οἱ ὄπλιται ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν πεζῇ ἐς Τανάγραν 10 τῆς Βοιωτίας. οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως πανδημεὶ Ἀθηναῖοι, 4 Ἰππονίκου τε τοῦ Καλλίου στρατηγοῦντος καὶ Εύρυμέδοντος τοῦ Θουκλέους, ἀπὸ σημείου ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ κατὰ γῆν ἀπήντων. καὶ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν τῇ Τανάγρᾳ 5 ἐδήνουν καὶ ἐνηρλίσαντο. καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ μάχῃ κρατήσαντες 15 τοὺς ἐπεξελθόντας τῶν Ταναγραίων καὶ Θηβαίων τιὰς προσβεβοηθηκότας καὶ ὅπλα λαβόντες καὶ τροπαῖον στήσαντες ἀνεχώρησαν, οἱ μὲν ἐς τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς. καὶ 6 παραπλεύσας ὁ Νικίας ταῖς ἔξήκοντα ναυσὶ τῆς Λοκρίδος τὰ ἐπιθαλάσσια ἔτεμε καὶ ἀνεχώρησεν ἐπ' οἴκου.

20 Ὅπο δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον Λακεδαιμόνιοι Ἡράκλειαν 92 τὴν ἐν Τραχιώᾳ ἀποικίαν καθίσταντο ἀπὸ τοιᾶσδε γνώμης. Μηλιῆς οἱ ἔνυμπαντες εἰσὶ μὲν τρία μέρη, Παράλιοι Ἰριῆς 2 Τραχίωιοι· τούτων δὲ οἱ Τραχίνιοι πολέμῳ ἐφθαρμένοι ὑπὸ Οίταίων ὅμορων ὅντων, τὸ πρῶτον μελλήσαντες Ἀθηναῖοις 25 προσθεῦναι σφᾶς αὐτούς, δείσαντες δὲ μὴ οὐ σφίσι πιστοὶ ὥστι, πέμπουσιν ἐς Λακεδαιμονα, ἐλόμενοι πρεσβευτὴν Τεισαμενόν. ἔννεπρεσβεύοντο δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Δωριῆς, ἡ μητρό- 3 πολις τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, τῶν αὐτῶν δεόμενοι· ὑπὸ γὰρ τῶν Οίταίων καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐφθείροντο. ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ Λακε- 4 30 δαιμόνιοι γνώμην εἶχον τὴν ἀποικίαν ἐκπέμπειν, τοῖς τε Τραχίωις βουλόμενοι καὶ τοῖς Δωριεῦσι τιμωρεῖν. καὶ

5 αὐτῶν Krüger 8 Γραϊκῆς Stahl: πέραν γῆς codd. 21 Τραχίωις ΑΒΕΦΜ suprascr. G 22 Ἰριῆς Bursian: Ἱερῆς codd.
29 post αὐτοὶ add. πολέμῳ C G

άμα τοῦ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πολέμου καλῶς αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει ἡ πόλις καθίστασθαι· ἐπὶ τε γὰρ τῇ Εὐβοίᾳ ταυτικὸν παρα-
σκενασθῆται ἄρ, ὥστ' ἐκ βραχέος τὴν διάβασιν γίγνεσθαι,
τῆς τε ἐπὶ Θράκης παρόδου χρηστήμως ἔξειν. τό τε ξύμπαν
5 ὥρμητο τὸ χωρίον κτίζειν. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἐν Δελφοῖς 5
τὸν θεὸν ἐπίγροιτο, κελεύοντος δὲ ἐξέπεμψαν τοὺς οἰκήτορας
αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν περιοίκων, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τὸν
βουλόμενον ἐκέλευνον ἐπεσθαι πλὴν Ἰώνων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν καὶ
6 ἐστιν ὅν ἄλλων ἐθισῶν. οἰκισταὶ δὲ τρεῖς Λακεδαιμονίων
ἡγήσαντο, Λέων καὶ Ἀλκίδας καὶ Δαμάγων. καταστάντες 10
δὲ ἐτείχισαν τὴν πόλιν ἐκ καινῆς, ἥ τὴν Ἡράκλεια καλεῖται,
ἀπέχουσα Θερμοπυλῶν σταδίους μάλιστα τεσσαράκοντα, τῆς
δὲ θαλάσσης εἴκοσι. νεώριά τε παρεσκενάζοιτο, καὶ εἶρξαν
τὸ κατὰ Θερμοπύλας κατ' αὐτὸν τὸ στενόν, ὅπως εὐφύλακτα
93 αὐτοῖς εἴη. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τῆς πόλεως ταύτης ξυνοικιζο- 15
μένης τὸ πρῶτον ἐδεισάν τε καὶ ἐνόμισαν ἐπὶ τῇ Εὐβοίᾳ
μάλιστα καθίστασθαι, ὅτι βραχύς ἐστιν ὁ διάπλους πρὸς τὸ
Κήραιον τῆς Εὐβοίας. ἐπειτα μέριτοι παρὰ δόξαν αὐτοῖς
20 ἀπέβη· οὐ γὰρ ἐγένετο ἀπ' αὐτῆς δειπὸν οὐδέπι. αἵτιον δὲ
ἥν οὐ τε Θεσπαλοὶ ἐν δυνάμει ὅπτες τῶν ταύτης χωρίων, 25
καὶ ὅν ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ ἐκτίζετο, φοβούμενοι μὴ σφίσι μεγάλῃ
ἰσχύν παροικῶσιν, ἐφθειρον καὶ διὰ παντὸς ἐπολέμουν ἀν-
θρώποις νεοκαταστάτοις, ἔως ἐξετρύχωσαν γενομένους τὸ
πρῶτον καὶ πάντα πολλούς (πᾶς γάρ τις Λακεδαιμονίων οἰκι-
ζόντων θαρσαλέως ἦει, βέβαιον τομίζων τὴν πόλιν)· οὐ 30
μέριτοι ἤκιστα οἱ ἀρχοίτες αὐτῶν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων οἱ
ἀφικτούμενοι τὰ πράγματά τε ἐφθειρον καὶ ἐς ὀλιγανθρω-
πίαν κατέστησαν, ἐκφοβήσαντες τοὺς πολλοὺς χαλεπῶς τε
καὶ ἐστιν ἀ οὐ καλῶς ἐξηγούμενοι, ὥστε ῥᾶσιν ἥδη αὐτῶν οἱ
πρόσοικοι ἐπεκράτουν.

94 Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους, καὶ περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ὃν ἐν τῇ
Μήλῳ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι κατείχοντο, καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα

13 δὲ om. A B E F M γρ. G εἶρξαν (sic) τὸ E : ἤρξαντο cest.

νεῶν Ἀθηναῖοι περὶ Πελοπόννησον ὅπτες πρῶτον ἐν Ἑλλο-
μερῷ τῆς Λευκαδίας φρουρούς τινας λοχήσαντες διέφθειραν,
ἐπειτα ὑστερον ἐπὶ Λευκάδα μείζονι στόλῳ ἥλθοι, Ἀκαρνᾶσί²
τε πᾶσιν, οἱ πανδημεὶ πλὴν Οἰνιαδῶν ἔννέσποιτο, καὶ Ζα-
κυνθίοις καὶ Κεφαλλήσι καὶ Κερκυραίων πέιτε καὶ δέκα
ναυσίν. καὶ οἱ μὲν Λευκαδίοι τῆς τε ἔξω γῆς δηουμένης ²
καὶ τῆς ἐιτὸς τοῦ ἵσθμου, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἡ Λευκάς ἐστι καὶ τὸ
ἴερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, πλήθει βιαζόμενοι ἡσύχαζον· οἱ δὲ
Ἀκαρνᾶνες ἤξιον Δημοσθένη τὸν στρατηγὸν τῶν Ἀθηναίων
ιο ἀποτειχίζειν αὐτούς, νομίζοντες ῥᾳδίως γ' ἀν ἐκπολιορκῆσαι
καὶ πόλεως αἰεὶ σφίσι πολεμίας ἀπαλλαγῆναι. Δημοσθένης ³
δ' ἀναπείθεται κατὰ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ὑπὸ Μεσσηνίων ὡς
καλὸν αὐτῷ στρατιᾶς τοσαύτης ἔννειλεγμένης Αἰτωλοῖς ἐπι-
θέσθαι, Ναυπάκτῳ τε πολεμίοις οὖσι καί, ἦν κρατήσῃ αὐτῷ,
ι5 ῥᾳδίως καὶ τὸ ἄλλο Ἡπειρωτικὸν τὸ ταύτη Ἀθηναίοις προσ-
ποιῆσειν. τὸ γὰρ ἔθρος μέγα μὲν εἶναι τὸ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ⁴
καὶ μάχιμον, οἰκοῦν δὲ κατὰ κώμας ἀτειχίστους, καὶ ταύτας
διὰ πολλοῦ, καὶ σκευῇ ψιλῇ χρώμενον οὐ χαλεπὸν ἀπέφαινον,
πρὶν ἔνμβοηθῆσαι, καταστραφῆναι. ἐπιχειρεῖν δ' ἐκέλευνον ⁵
20 πρῶτον μὲν Ἀποδωτοῖς, ἐπειτα δὲ Ὁφιονεῦσι καὶ μετὰ τού-
τους Εύρυτᾶσιν, ὅπερ μέγιστον μέρος ἐστὶ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν,
ἀγνωστότατοι δὲ γλώσσαι καὶ ὁμοφάγοι εἰσίν, ὡς λέγονται
τούτων γὰρ ληφθέντων ῥᾳδίως καὶ τὰλλα προσχωρήσειν.
δ δὲ τῶν Μεσσηνίων χάριτι πεισθεὶς καὶ μάλιστα νομίσας ⁹⁵
25 ἄνευ τῆς τῶν Ἀθηναίων δινάμεως τοῖς ἡπειρώταις ἔνυμάχοις
μετὰ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν δύνασθαι ἀν κατὰ γῆν ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ Βοιω-
τοὺς διὰ Λοκρῶν τῶν Ὁζολῶν ἐς Κυτίνιον τὸ Δωρικόν, ἐν
δεξιᾷ ἔχων τὸν Παρνασσόν, ἔως καταβαίη ἐς Φωκέας, οἱ
προθύμως ἐδόκουν κατὰ τὴν Ἀθηναίων αἰεὶ ποτε φιλίαν
30 ἔνστρατεύσειν ἢ καν βίᾳ προσαχθῆναι (καὶ Φωκεῦσιν ἦδη
ὅμορος ἡ Βοιωτία ἐστίν), ἄρα οὖν ἔνμπαντι τῷ στρατεύματι

² Λευκαδίας Ε : Ἀρκαδίας cett.
πόλεως Σ : πόλεως τε cett. [G]
τεῦσαι Μ : ξυ(ν)στρατεύειν cett.

io γ' C : τ' cett. [G] ii καὶ
30 ξυστρατεύσειν Stahl : ξυστρα-

- ἀπὸ τῆς Λευκάδος ἀκόντων τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων παρέπλευσεν ἐς
 2 Σόλλιον. κοινώσας δὲ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν τοῖς Ἀκαρνᾶσι, ὃς οὐ προσεδέξαιτο διὰ τῆς Λευκάδος τὴν οὐ περιτείχισι, αὐτὸς τῇ λοιπῇ στρατιᾷ, Κεφαλλῆσι καὶ Μεσσηνίοις καὶ Ζακυνθίοις καὶ Ἀθηναίων τριακοσίοις τοῖς ἐπιβάταις τῶν σφετέρων 5 νεῶν (αἱ γὰρ πέντε καὶ δέκα τῶν Κερκυραίων ἀπῆλθον νῆες),
 3 ἐστράτευσεν ἐπ' Αἴτωλούς. ὡρμάτο δὲ ἐξ Οἰνεῶν τῆς Λοκρίδος. οἱ δὲ Ὁζόλαι οὗτοι Λοκροὶ ἔνυμαχοι ἦσαν, καὶ ἔδει αὐτοὺς πανστρατιῷ ἀπαντῆσαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐς τὴν μεσόγειαν· ὅντες γὰρ ὄμοροι τοῖς Αἴτωλοῖς καὶ δύοσκενοι 10 μεγάλῃ ὥφελίᾳ ἐδόκουν εἶναι ἔνστρατεύοντες μάχης τε ἐμ-
 96 πειρίᾳ τῆς ἑκείνων καὶ χωρίων. αὐλισάμενος δὲ τῷ στρατῷ ἐν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Νεμέον τῷ ἱερῷ, ἐν φιλοτῆς Ἡσίοδος διποιητῆς λέγεται ὑπὸ τῶν ταύτη ἀποθανεῖν, χρησθὲν αὐτῷ ἐν Νεμέᾳ τοῦτο παθεῖν, ἀμα τῇ ἔῳ ἄρας ἐπορεύετο ἐς τὴν Αἴτωλαν. 15
 2 καὶ αἱρεῖ τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ Ποτιδανίαν καὶ τῇ δευτέρᾳ Κροκύλειον καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ Τείχιον, ἔμενέ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν λείαν ἐς Εὐπάλιον τῆς Λοκρίδος ἀπέπεμψεν· τὴν γὰρ γνώμην εἶχε τὰ ἄλλα καταστρεψάμενος οὕτως ἐπὶ Ὁφιονέας, εἰ μὴ βούλοιτο ξυγχωρεῖν, ἐς Ναύπακτον ἐπαναχωρήσας στρα- 20 τεῦσαι ὕστερον.
 3 Τοὺς δὲ Αἴτωλοὺς οὐκ ἐλάνθανεν αὕτη ἡ παρασκευὴ οὔτε ὅτε τὸ πρῶτον ἐπεβουλεύετο, ἐπειδὴ τε ὁ στρατὸς ἐσεβεβλήκει, πολλῇ χειρὶ ἐπεβοήθουν πάντες, ὥστε καὶ οἱ ἐσχατοὶ Ὁφιονέων οἱ πρὸς τὸν Μηλιακὸν κόλπον καθήκοντες Βωμῆς 25
 97 καὶ Καλλιῆς ἐβοήθησαν. τῷ δὲ Δημοσθένει τοιόνδε τι οἱ Μεσσήγιοι παρήγουν, ὅπερ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἀναδιδάσκουντες αὐτὸι τῶν Αἴτωλῶν ὡς εἴη ῥᾳδία ἡ αἱρεσις, ιέραι ἐκέλευον ὅτι τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὰς κώμας καὶ μὴ μένειν ἔως ἀν ξύμπαντες ἀθροισθέντες ἀντιτάξωνται, τὴν δὲ ἐν ποσὶν αἱεὶ πειρᾶσθαι 30
 2 αἱρεῖν. ὁ δὲ τούτοις τε πεισθεὶς καὶ τῇ τύχῃ ἐλπίσας, ὅτι οὐδὲν αὐτῷ ἡναντιοῦτο, τοὺς Λοκροὺς οὐκ ἀναμείνας οὐς

αὐτῷ ἔδει προσβοηθῆσαι (ψιλῶν γὰρ ἀκοντιστῶν ἐνδεῆς ἦν μάλιστα) ἔχωρει ἐπὶ Αἰγυπτίου, καὶ κατὰ κράτος αἵρει ἐπιών. ὑπέφευγον γὰρ οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ ἐκάθηντο ἐπὶ τῶν λόφων τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως· ἦν γὰρ ἐφ' ὑψηλῶν χωρίων ἀπέχουσα 5 τῆς θαλάσσης ὁγδοίκοντα σταδίους μάλιστα. οἱ δὲ Αἰτωλοὶ 3 (βεβοηθηκότες γὰρ ἦδη ἦσαν ἐπὶ τὸ Αἰγύπτιον) προσέβαλλον τοῦς Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους καταθέουτες ἀπὸ τῶν λόφων ἄλλοι ἄλλοθεν καὶ ἐστοκόντιζον, καὶ ὅτε μὲν ἐπίοι τὸ 10 τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατόπεδον, ὑπεχώρουν, ἀναχωροῦσι δὲ 10 ἐπέκειντο· καὶ ἦν ἐπὶ πολὺ τοιαύτη ἡ μάχη, διώξεις τε καὶ ὑπαγωγαῖ, ἐν οἷς ἀμφοτέροις ἥστους ἦσαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι. μέχρι μὲν οὖν οἱ τοξόται εἶχόν τε τὰ βέλη αὐτοῖς καὶ οὗτοί τε 98 ἦσαν χρῆσθαι, οἱ δὲ ἀντεῖχον (τοξευόμενοι γὰρ οἱ Αἰτωλοὶ ἄνθρωποι ψιλοὶ ἀνεστέλλοντο). ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῦ τε τοξάρχου 15 ἀποθανόντος οὗτοι διεκεδάσθησαν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκεκμήκεσαν καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ τῷ αὐτῷ πόνῳ ξυνεχόμενοι, οἵ τε Αἰτωλοὶ ἐνέκειντο καὶ ἐστοκόντιζον, οὕτω δὴ τραπόμενοι ἔφευγον, καὶ ἐσπίπτοντες ἐς τε χαράδρας ἀνεκβάτους καὶ χωρία ὡν οὐκ 20 ἦσαν ἔμπειροι διεφθείροντο· καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἡγεμὸν αὐτοῖς τῶν δόδῶν Χρόμων ὁ Μεσσήνιος ἐτύγχανε τεθνηκώς. οἱ δὲ 2 Αἰτωλοὶ ἐστακοντίζοντες πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ τροπῇ κατὰ πόδας αἴροντες ἄνθρωποι ποδώκεις καὶ ψιλοὶ διέφθειρον, τοὺς δὲ πλείους τῶν δόδῶν ἀμαρτάνοντας καὶ ἐς τὴν 25 ὕλην ἐσφερομένους, ὅθεν διέξοδοι οὐκ ἦσαν, πῦρ κομισάμενοι περιεπίμπρασαν· πᾶσά τε ἵδεα κατέστη τῆς φυγῆς 3 καὶ τοῦ δλέθρου τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, μόλις τε ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ τὸν Οἰνεῶνα τῆς Λοκρίδος, ὅθεν περ 4 καὶ ὥρμήθησαν, οἱ περιγενόμενοι κατέφυγον. ἀπέθαινον δὲ τῶν τε ξυμμάχων πολλοὶ καὶ αὐτῶν Ἀθηναίων ὀπλῖται περὶ 30 εἴκοσι μάλιστα καὶ ἑκατόν. τοσοῦτοι μὲν τὸ πλῆθος καὶ ἥλικία ἡ αὐτὴ οὗτοι βέλτιστοι δὴ ἄιδρες ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ

τῷδε ἐκ τῆς Ἀθηναίων πόλεως διεφθύρησαι· ἀπέθανε δὲ 5 καὶ ὁ ἔτερος στρατηγὸς Προκλῆς. τοὺς δὲ γεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀνελόμενοι παρὰ τῷν Αἰτωλῶν καὶ ἀγαχωρήσατες ἐς Ναύπακτον ὕστερον ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ταῖς γαυσὶν ἐκομίσθησαν. Δημοσθένης δὲ περὶ Ναύπακτον καὶ τὰ χωρία 5 ταῦτα ὑπελείφθη, τοῖς πεπραγμένοις φοβούμενος τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.

99 Κατὰ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους καὶ οἱ περὶ Σικελίαν Ἀθηναῖοι πλεύσαντες ἐς τὴν Λοκρίδα ἐν ἀποβάσει τέ τινι τοὺς προσβοηθήσατας Λοκρῶν ἐκράτησαν καὶ περιπόλιον 10 αἴροντιν ὃ ἦν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀληκι ποταμῷ.

100 Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους Αἰτωλοὶ προπέμψαντες πρότερον ἐς τε Κόρινθον καὶ ἐς Λακεδαιμονα πρέσβεις, Τόλοφόν τε τὸν Ὁφιογέα καὶ Βοριάδην τὸν Εὐρυτάνα καὶ Τείσαρδον τὸν Ἀποδωτόν, πείθουσιν ὥστε σφίσι πέμψαι στρατιὰν ἐπὶ 15

2 Ναύπακτον διὰ τὴν τῷν Ἀθηναίων ἐπαγωγήν. καὶ ἔξ-
πεμψαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι περὶ τὸ φθινόπωρον τρισχιλίους
διπλίτας τῷν ξυμμάχων. τούτων ἥσαν πειτακόσιοι ἔξ
‘Ηρακλείας τῆς ἐν Τραχῶι πόλεως τότε νεοκτίστου οὖσης.
Σπαρτιάτης δ' ἥρχεν Εὐρύλοχος τῆς στρατιᾶς, καὶ ἔντη- 20
κολούθουν αὐτῷ Μακάριος καὶ Μενεδάιος οἱ Σπαρτιάται.

101 Ξυλλεγέντος δὲ τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπεκηρυκεύετο Εὐρύλοχος Λοκροῦς τοῖς Ὀζόλαις· διὰ τούτων γὰρ ἡ ὁδὸς ἦν ἐς Ναύπακτον, καὶ ἄμα τῷν Ἀθηναίων ἐβούλετο ἀποστῆσαι 25 αὐτούς. Ξυρέπρασπον δὲ μάλιστα αὐτῷ τῷν Λοκρῶν Ἀμ-
φιστῆς διὰ τὸ τῷν Φωκέων ἔχθος δεδιότες· καὶ αὐτὸι πρῶτοι
δόντες διμήρους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπεισαν δοῦνται φοβουμένους
τὸν ἐπιώντα στρατόν, πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τοὺς διμήρους αὐτοῖς
Μνοιέας (ταύτῃ γὰρ δυσεπιβολώτατος ἡ Λοκρίς), ἐπειτα
Ἴπνέας καὶ Μεσσαπίους καὶ Τριταίεας καὶ Χαλαίους καὶ 30

21 Μενέδαιος Hudson (accentum corr. L. Dindorf) : Μενέδατος codd.

26 πρῶτοι Krüger: πρῶτον codd.: *primi* Valla 29 Μνανέας in titulis
scribitur 30 Μεταπίους Steph. Byz. Τριτοιέας C G: Τριταλούς
Steph. Byz.: Τριτέας in titulis scribitur Χαλειέας in titulis scribitur

Τολοφωνίους καὶ Ἡσσίους καὶ Οἰανθέας. οὗτοι καὶ ξυνεπτράτευοι πάντες. Ὄλπαιοι δὲ ὁμήρους μὲν ἔδοσαν, ἡκολούθουν δὲ οὖν καὶ Ταῖοι οὐκ ἔδοσαν ὁμήρους πρὶν αὐτῶν εἶλοι· κώμην Πόλιν ὄνομα ἔχουσαν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ παρεσκεύαστο 102
 5 πάγτα καὶ τοὺς ὁμήρους κατέθετο ἐς Κυτίνιον τὸ Δωρικόν,
 ἔχώρει τῷ στρατῷ ἐπὶ τὴν Ναύπακτον διὰ τῶν Λοκρῶν, καὶ πορευόμενος Οἰνεῶνα αἴρει αὐτῶν καὶ Εὐπάλιον· οὐ γὰρ προσεχώρησαν. γενόμενοι δ' ἐν τῇ Ναυπακτίᾳ καὶ οἱ 10
 10 Αἰτωλοὶ ἄμα ἥδη προσβεβοηθηκότες ἔδήσαν τὴν γῆν καὶ τὸ προάστειον ἀτείχιστον ὃν εἶλον· ἐπὶ τε Μολύκρειον ἐλθόντες τὴν Κορινθίων μὲν ἀποικίαν, Ἀθηναίων δὲ ὑπῆκοον,
 15 αἱροῦσιν. Δημοσθένης δὲ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος (ἔτι γὰρ ἐτύγχανει 3
 ὅν μετὰ τὰ ἐκ τῆς Αἰτωλίας περὶ Ναύπακτον) προαισθόμενος τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ δείσας περὶ αὐτῆς, ἐλθὼν πείθει
 20 'Ακαρνᾶνας, χαλεπῶς διὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς Λευκάδος ἀναχώρησιν,
 βοηθῆσαι Ναυπάκτῳ. καὶ πέμπουσι μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ⁴ 4
 νεῶν χιλίους ὄπλίτας, οἱ ἐσελθόντες περιεποίησαν τὸ χωρίον.
 δεινὸν γὰρ ἦν μὴ μεγάλου ὅιτος τοῦ τείχους, ὀλίγων δὲ τῶν
 ἀμυνομένων, οὐκ ἀντίσχωσιν. Εὐρύλοχος δὲ καὶ οἱ μετ'⁵ 5
 25 αὐτοῦ ὡς ἥσθοντο τὴν στρατιὰν ἐσεληλυθῦναν καὶ ἀδύνατοι
 ὃν τὴν πόλιν βίᾳ ἐλεῦν, ἀνεχώρησαν οὐκ ἐπὶ Πελοποννήσου,
 ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν Αἰολίδα τὴν νῦν καλούμενην Καλινδῶνα καὶ
 Πλευρῶνα καὶ ἐς τὰ ταύτη χωρία καὶ ἐς Πρόσχιον τῆς
 Αἰτωλίας. οἱ γὰρ Ἀμπρακιῶται ἐλθόντες πρὸς αὐτοὺς
 30 6 πείθουσιν ὥστε μετὰ σφῶν "Αργει τε τῷ Ἀμφιλοχικῷ καὶ
 'Αμφιλοχίᾳ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἐπιχειρῆσαι καὶ 'Ακαρνανίᾳ ἄμα, λέγοντες δὲ, ἷν τούτων κρατήσωσι, πᾶν τὸ ἡπειρωτικὸν Λακεδαιμονίοις ξύμμαχον καθεστήξει. καὶ δὲ μὲν Εὐρύλοχος 7
 πεισθεὶς καὶ τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς ἀφεὶς ἥσυχαζε τῷ στρατῷ περὶ
 35 τοὺς χώρους τούτους, ἔως τοῖς Ἀμπρακιώταις ἐκστρατευσα-
 μένοις περὶ τὸ "Αργος δέοι βοηθεῖν. καὶ τὸ θέρος ἐτελεύτα.

Οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ Ἀθηναῖοι τοῦ ἐπιγιγνομένου χειμῶνος 103

ἐπελθόντες μετὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔνυμάχων καὶ ὅσοι Σικελῶν κατὰ κράτος ἀρχόμενοι ὑπὸ Συρακοσίων καὶ ἔνυμαχοι ὅντες ἀποστάγτες αὐτοῖς [ἀπὸ Συρακοσίων] ἔννεπολέμουν, ἐπ' Ἰησσαν τὸ Σικελικὸν πόλισμα, οὗ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν Συρακόσιοι εἶχον, προσέβαλον, καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἐλεῦν, 5 2 ἀπῆσαν. ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀναχωρήσει ὑστέροις Ἀθηναίων τοῖς ἔνυμάχοις ἀναχωροῦσιν ἐπιτίθενται οἱ ἐκ τοῦ τειχίσματος Συρακόσιοι, καὶ προσπεσόντες τρέπουσί τε μέρος τι τοῦ 3 στρατοῦ καὶ ἀπέκτειναν οὐκ ὀλίγους. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν δὲ Λάχης καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς τὴν Λοκρίδα ἀπο- 10 βάσεις τιὰς ποιησάμενοι κατὰ τὸν Καϊκίνον ποταμὸν τοὺς προσβοηθοῦντας Λοκρῶν μετὰ Προξένου τοῦ Καπάτωρος ὡς τριακοσίους μάχῃ ἐκράτησαν καὶ ὅπλα λαβόντες ἀπε- 15 χώρησαν.

104 Τοῦ δὲ αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ Δῆλον ἐκάθηραν Ἀθηναῖοι 15 κατὰ χρησμὸν δή τινα. ἐκάθηρε μὲν γὰρ καὶ Πεισίστρατος δὲ τύραινος πρότερον αὐτίν, οὐχ ἄπασαν, ἀλλ’ ὅσον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐφεωράτο τῆς νῆσου τότε δὲ πᾶσα ἐκαθάρθη τοιῷδε 2 τρόπῳ. θῆκαι ὅσαι ἦσαν τῶν τεθνεώτων ἐν Δήλῳ, πάσας ἀνεῦλον, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν προεῖπον μήτε ἐναποθῆσκειν ἐν τῇ 20 νήσῳ μήτε ἐντίκτειν, ἀλλ’ ἐς τὴν Ῥήνειαν διακομίζεσθαι. ἀπέχει δὲ ἡ Ῥήνεια τῆς Δῆλου οὕτως ὀλίγον ὥστε Πολυκράτης δὲ Σαμίων τύραννος ἴσχύσας τινὰ χρόγον ταυτικῷ καὶ τῶν τε ἄλλων νήσων ἄρξας καὶ τὴν Ῥήνειαν ἐλὼν ἀνέθηκε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Δηλιώ ἀλύσει δήσας πρὸς τὴν 25 Δῆλον. καὶ τὴν πεντετηρίδα τότε πρῶτον μετὰ τὴν κάθαρσιν ἐποίησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ Δήλια. ἦν δέ ποτε καὶ τὸ πάλαι μεγάλη ἔνυοδος ἐς τὴν Δῆλον τῶν Ἰώνων τε καὶ περικτιόνων νησιωτῶν· ἔνν τε γὰρ γνναιξὶ καὶ παισὶ ἐθεώρουν, ὡσπερ νῦν ἐς τὰ Ἐφέσια Ἰωνες, καὶ ἀγὸν ἐποιεῖτο αὐτόθι καὶ 30 4 γυμνικὸς καὶ μονσικός, χορούς τε ἀνῆγον αἱ πόλεις. δηλοῖ

3 ἀπὸ Συρακοσίων secl. Kistemaker ἐπ' Ἰησσαν F: ἐπὶ γῆσ-
σαν A B C E: ἐπ' Ἰνισαν M: ἐπὶ νίσαν c G 26 πενταετηρίδα G
(a erasmus) M: πεντετηρίαν C 27 τὰ Δήλια secl. Herwerden

δὲ μάλιστα Ὅμηρος ὅτι τοιαῦτα ἦν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι τοῖσδε, ὃ
ἔστιν ἐκ προοιμίου Ἀπόλλωνος.

ἀλλ’ ὅτε Δήλω, Φοῖβε, μάλιστά γε θυμὸν ἐτέρφθης,
ἔνθα τοι ἐλκεχίτωνες Ἱάσονες ἡγερέθονται
5 σὺν σφοῖσιν τεκέεσπι γυναιξί τε σὴν ἐς ἀγυιάν.
ἔνθα σε πυγμαχίῃ τε καὶ δρχηστυν καὶ ἀοιδῇ
μνησάμενοι τέρπουσιν, ὅταν καθέσωσιν ἀγῶνα.

ὅτι δὲ καὶ μουσικῆς ἀγῶν τὸν ἦν καὶ ἀγωνιούμενοι ἐφοίτων ἐν 5
τοῖσδε αὖ δηλοῦ, ἢ ἔστιν ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ προοιμίου τὸν γὰρ
10 Δηλιακὸν χορὸν τῶν γυναικῶν ὑμνήσας ἐτελεύτα τοῦ ἐπαίνου
ἐς τάδε τὰ ἔπη, ἐν οἷς καὶ ἕαυτοῦ ἐπεμνήσθη.

ἀλλ’ ἄγεθ’, Ἰλήκοι μὲν Ἀπόλλων Ἀρτέμιδος ξύν,
χαίρετε δ’ ὑμεῖς πᾶσαι. ἐμεῖο δὲ καὶ μετόπισθε
μνήσασθ’, διπότε κέν τις ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων
15 ἐνθάδ’ ἀνείρηται ταλαπείριος ἄλλος ἐπελθών.
‘ὦ κοῦραι, τίς δ’ ὑμμιν ἀνὴρ ἥδιστος ἀοιδῶν
ἐνθάδε πωλεῖται, καὶ τέῳ τέρπεσθε μάλιστα;’
ὑμεῖς δ’ εὖ μάλα πᾶσαι ὑποκρίνασθαι ἀφήμως.
‘τυφλὸς ἀνήρ, οἰκεῖ δὲ Χίω ἔνι παιπαλοέστη.’

20 τοσαῦτα μὲν Ὅμηρος ἐτεκμηρίωσεν ὅτι ἦν καὶ τὸ πάλαι 6
μεγάλη ξύνοδος καὶ ἔορτὴ ἐν τῇ Δήλῳ. ὕστερον δὲ τοὺς
μὲν χοροὺς οἱ νησιῶται καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι μεθ’ ἵερῶν ἐπεμ-
πον, τὰ δὲ περὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα κατελύθη ὑπὸ
ξυμφορῶν, ὡς εἰκός, πρὶν δὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τότε τὸν ἀγῶνα
25 ἐποίησαν καὶ ἵπποδρομίας, δὲ πρότερον οὐκ ἦν.

Τοῦ δὲ αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος Ἀμπρακιῶται, ὥσπερ ὑποσχόμενοι 105
Εὐρυλόχῳ τὴν στρατιὰν κατέσχον, ἐκστρατεύονται ἐπὶ Ἀργος
τὸ Ἀμφιλοχικὸν τρισχιλίοις ὁπλίταις, καὶ ἐσβαλόντες ἐς
30 τὴν Ἀργείαν καταλαμβάνουσιν Ὁλπας, τεῖχος ἐπὶ λόφου
ἰσχυρὸν πρὸς τῇ θαλάσσῃ, διπότε Ἀκαρνᾶνες τειχισάμενοι
κοινῷ δικαστηρίῳ ἐχρώντο. ἀπέχει δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀργείων

3 ἄλλοτε Camerarius
hymn. Hom.: ὑμῖν codd.

6 τε vulgo: om. codd.
30 post Ἀκαρνᾶνες add. καὶ Ἀμφιλοχοὶ Niese

πόλεως ἐπιθαλασσίας οὕσης πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίους
 2 μάλιστα. οἱ δὲ Ἀκαρνᾶις οἱ μὲν ἐς "Αργος ξυνεβοήθουν,
 οἱ δὲ τῆς Ἀμφιλοχίας ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χωρίῳ δὲ Κρῆται
 καλεῖται, φυλάσσοντες τοὺς μετὰ Εὐρυλόχου Πελοπονη-
 σίους μὴ λάθωσι πρὸς τοὺς Ἀμπρακιώτας διελθόντες, ἐστρα- 5
 3 τοπεδεύσαντο. πέμπουσι δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ Δημοσθένη τὸν ἐς τὴν
 Αἰτωλίαν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγήσαντα, ὅπως σφίσιν ἡγεμὼν
 γίγνηται, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς εἴκοσι ναῦς Ἀθηναίων αὖ ἔτυχον περὶ
 Πελοπόννησον οὖσαι, ὧν ἦρχεν Ἀριστοτέλης τε ὁ Τιμοκρά-
 4 τοὺς καὶ Ἱεροφῶν δ' Ἀντιμνήστον. ἀπέστειλαν δὲ καὶ ἄγγελον 10
 οἱ περὶ τὰς Ὀλπας Ἀμπρακιώταις ἐς τὴν πόλιν κελεύοντες
 σφίσιν βοηθεῦν παρδημένι, δεδιότες μὴ οἱ μετ' Εὐρυλόχου οὐ
 δύνηται διελθεῦν τοὺς Ἀκαρνάνας καὶ σφίσιν ἡ μοιωθεῖσιν
 ἡ μάχη γένηται ἡ ἀναχωρεῦν βουλομένοις οὐκ ἢ ἀσφαλές.
 106 Οἱ μὲν οὖν μετ' Εὐρυλόχου Πελοποννήσιοι ὡς ἥσθοιτο 15
 τοὺς ἐν Ὀλπαῖς Ἀμπρακιώτας ἥκοιτας, ἄραντες ἐκ τοῦ
 Προσχίου ἐβοήθουν κατὰ τάχος, καὶ διαβάντες τὸν Ἀχε-
 λῷον ἔχωρον δι' Ἀκαρνανίας οὕσης ἐρήμου διὰ τὴν ἐς
 Ἀργος βοήθειαν, ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν ἔχοντες τὴν Στρατίων πόλιν
 καὶ τὴν φρουρὰν αὐτῶν, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ τὴν ἄλλην Ἀκαρνα- 20
 2 γίαν. καὶ διελθόντες τὴν Στρατίων γῆν ἔχωρον διὰ τῆς
 Φυτίας καὶ αὐθις Μεδεῶνος παρ' ἔσχατα, ἔπειτα διὰ Λιμναίας·
 καὶ ἐπέβησαν τῆς Ἀγραίων, οὐκέτι Ἀκαρνανίας, φιλίας δὲ
 3 σφίσιν. λαβόμενοι δὲ τοῦ Θυάμου ὅρους, ὃ ἐστιν Ἀγραικόν,
 ἔχωρον δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ κατέβησαν ἐς τὴν Ἀργείαν ἱνκτὸς 25
 ἥδη, καὶ διεξελθόντες μεταξὺ τῆς τε Ἀργείων πόλεως καὶ
 τῆς ἐπὶ Κρίταις Ἀκαρνάνων φυλακῆς ἔλαθον καὶ προσ-
 107 ἐμειξαν τοὺς ἐν Ὀλπαῖς Ἀμπρακιώτας. γενόμενοι δὲ ἀθρόοι
 ἄμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καθίζουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν Μητρόπολιν καλούμενην
 καὶ στρατόπεδον ἐποιήσαντο. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ταῖς εἴκοσι ναυσὶν 30
 οὐ πολλῷ ὑστερον παραγίγνονται ἐς τὸν Ἀμπρακικὸν κόλπον
 βοηθοῦντες τοὺς Ἀργείοις, καὶ Δημοσθένης Μεσσηνίων μὲν

24 Ἀγραικόν O. Müller: ἀγραικον codd.

31 κόλπον om. A B E F M

ἔχων διακοσίους ὁπλίτας, ἔξηκοντα δὲ τοξότας Ἀθηναίων.
 καὶ αἱ μὲν τῆς περὶ τὰς Ὀλπας τὸν λόφον ἐκ θαλάσσης ²
 ἐφώρμουν· οἱ δὲ Ἀκαρνᾶνες καὶ Ἀμφιλόχων δλίγοι (οἱ γὰρ
 πλείους ὑπὸ Ἀμπρακιωτῶν βίᾳ κατείχοιτο) ἐς τὸ Ἀργος ³ ἥδη
⁵ ξυνεληυθότες παρεσκευάζοιτο ὡς μαχούμενοι τοῖς ἐναντίοις,
 καὶ ἡγεμόνα τοῦ παιτὸς ξυμμαχικοῦ αἰροῦνται Δημοσθένη
 μετὰ τῶν σφετέρων στρατηγῶν. ὁ δὲ προσαγαγὼν ἐγγὺς ³
 τῆς Ὀλπης ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο, χαράδρα δ' αὐτοὺς μεγάλη
 διεῖργεν. καὶ ἡμέρας μὲν πέντε ἡσύχαζον, τῇ δ' ἕκτῃ
¹⁰ ἐτάσσοντο ἀμφότεροι ὡς ἐς μάχην. καὶ (μεῖζον γὰρ ἐγέ-
 νετο καὶ περιέσχε τὸ τῶν Πελοποννησίων στρατόπεδοι) δὲ
 Δημοσθένης δείσας μὴ κυκλωθῆ λοχίζει ἐς ὅδον τινα κοίλην
 καὶ λοχμώδη ὁπλίτας καὶ ψιλοὺς ξυναμφοτέρους ἐς τετρα-
 κοσίους, ὅπως κατὰ τὸ ὑπερέχον τῶν ἐναντίων ἐν τῇ ⁴ ξυνόδῳ
¹⁵ αὐτῇ ἐξαναστάντες οὗτοι κατὰ νάτου γίγνωνται. ἐπεὶ δὲ παρεσκεύαστο ἀμφοτέροις, ἥσταν ἐς χεῖρας, Δημοσθένης μὲν
 τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας ἔχων μετὰ Μεσσηνίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων δλί-
 γων, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο Ἀκαρνᾶνες ὡς ἔκαστοι τεταγμένοι ἐπεύχον,
 καὶ Ἀμφιλόχωι οἱ παρόντες ἀκοντισταί, Πελοποννήσιοι δὲ
²⁰ καὶ Ἀμπρακιῶται ἀγαπὸν τεταγμένοι πλὴν Μαρτινέων οὗτοι
 δὲ ἐν τῷ εὐωνύμῳ μᾶλλον καὶ οὐ τὸ κέρας ἄκρον ἔχοντες
 ἀθρόοι ἥσταν, ἀλλ' Εὐρύλοχος ἔσχατον εἶχε τὸ εὐώνυμον καὶ
 οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ, κατὰ Μεσσηνίους καὶ Δημοσθέην. ὡς δ' ἐν ¹⁰⁸
 χερσὶν ⁵ ἥδη ὄντες περιέσχον τῷ κέρᾳ οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ
²⁵ ἐκυκλοῦντο τὸ δεξιὸν τῶν ἐναντίων, οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας Ἀκαρ-
 νᾶνες ἐπιγενόμενοι αὐτοῖς κατὰ νάτου προσπίπτουσί τε καὶ
 τρέπουσιν, ὥστε μήτε ἐς ἀλκὴν ὑπομεῖναι φοβηθέντας τε ἐς
 φυγὴν καὶ τὸ πλέον τοῦ στρατεύματος καταστῆσαι· ἐπειδὴ
 γὰρ εἶδον τὸ κατ' Εὐρύλοχον καὶ δὲ κράτιστον ἦν διαφθειρό-
 ζο μενον, πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἐφοβοῦντο. καὶ οἱ Μεσσήνιοι ὄντες
 ταύτη μετὰ τοῦ Δημοσθένους τὸ πολὺ τοῦ ἔργου ἐπεξῆλθον.

² τὸν λόφον secl. Herwerden
³ ἐξῆλθον ΑΒΓ : διεξῆλθον Μ

15 νάτου ΑΒΕFM suprascer. G

2 οἱ δὲ Ἀμπρακιῶται καὶ οἱ κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας ἐνίκων τὸ
καθ' ἑαυτοὺς καὶ πρὸς τὸ Ἀργος ἀπεδίωξαν· καὶ γὰρ μαχι-
μώτατοι τῷν περὶ ἐκεῖνα τὰ χωρία τυγχάνουσιν ὅιτες.
3 ἐπαναχωροῦντες δὲ ὡς ἑώρων τὸ πλέον νευκημέοντο καὶ οἱ
ἄλλοι Ἀκαρνᾶνες σφίσι προσέκειντο, χαλεπῶς διεσφύζοντο 5
ἐς τὰς Ὀλπας, καὶ πολλοὶ ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν, ἀτάκτως καὶ
οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ προσπίπτοντες πλὴν Μαντινέων· οὗτοι δὲ
μάλιστα ξυντεταγμένοι πατὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀνεχώρησαν.
καὶ ἡ μὲν μάχη ἐτελέντα ἐς δύψει.

109 Μενεδάιος δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ Εύρυλόχου τεθνεῶτος καὶ Μα- 10
καρίου αὐτὸς παρειληφὼς τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἀπορῶν μεγάλης
ῆσσης γεγενημένης ὅτῳ τρόπῳ ἢ μένων πολιορκήσεται ἐκ
τε γῆς καὶ ἐκ θαλάσσης ταῦς Ἀττικαῖς ναυσὶν ἀποκεκλη-
μένος ἢ καὶ ἀναχωρῶν διασθήσεται, προσφέρει λόγοι περὶ
σπονδῶν καὶ ἀναχωρήσεως Δημοσθένει καὶ τοῦς Ἀκαρνάνων 15
2 στρατηγοῖς, καὶ περὶ νεκρῶν ἄμα ἀναιρέσεως. οἱ δὲ νεκροὺς
μὲν ἀπέδοσαν καὶ τροπαῖον αὐτοὶ ἔστησαν καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν
τριακοσίους μάλιστα ἀποθανόντας ἀνείλοντο, ἀναχώρησιν
δὲ ἡ μὲν τοῦ προφανοῦς οὐκ ἐσπείσαντο ἀπασι, κρύφα δὲ
Δημοσθένης μετὰ τῶν ξυστρατήγων Ἀκαρνάνων σπένδοιται 20
Μαντινέσι καὶ Μενεδαῖῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀρχουσι τῶν
Πελοποννησίων καὶ ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἦσαν ἀξιολογώτατοι ἀπο-
χωρεῖν κατὰ τάχος, βουλόμενος ψιλῶσαι τοὺς Ἀμπρακιώτας
τε καὶ τὸν μισθοφόρον ὄχλον [τὸν ξενικόν], μάλιστα δὲ
Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Πελοποννησίους διαβαλεῖν ἐς τοὺς ἐκείνης 25
χρῆσιν Ἐλληνας ὡς καταπροδόντες τὸ ἑαυτῶν προυργιαί-
3 τερον ἐποιήσαντο. καὶ οἱ μὲν τούς τε νεκροὺς ἀνείλοντο
καὶ διὰ τάχους ἔθαπτον, ὥσπερ ὑπῆρχε, καὶ τὴν ἀποχώρησιν
110 κρύφα οἷς ἐδέδοτο ἐπεβούλευον· τῷ δὲ Δημοσθένει καὶ τοῖς
Ἀκαρνάσιν ἀγγέλλεται τοὺς Ἀμπρακιώτας τοὺς ἐκ τῆς 30
πόλεως παιδημεὶ κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ἐκ τῶν Ὀλπῶν ἀγγε-

2 ἀπεδίωξαν Haase
ξενικόν secl. Herwerden

9 ἐς C: ἔως ἐς F G¹: ἔως cett.

24 τὸν

λίαν ἐπιβοηθεῦν διὰ τῶν Ἀμφιλόχων, βουλομένους τοῖς ἐν
"Ολπαις ξυμμεῖξαι, εἰδότας οὐδὲν τῶν γεγενημένων. καὶ 2
πέμπει εὐθὺς τοῦ στρατοῦ μέρος τι τὰς ὁδοὺς προλοχιοῦντας
καὶ τὰ καρτερὰ προκαταληψομένους, καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ στρατιῇ
5 ἅμα παρεσκευάζετο βοηθεῦν ἐπ' αὐτούς. ἐν τούτῳ δ' οἱ III
Μαρτιῆς καὶ οἱς ἐσπειστο πρόφασιν ἐπὶ λαχανισμὸν καὶ
φρυγάνων ξυλλογὴν ἐξελθόντες ὑπαπῆσαν κατ' ὀλίγους,
ἄμα ξυλλέγοντες ἐφ' ἀξέηλθον δῆθεν προκεχωρηκότες
δὲ ἥδη ἅπωθεν τῆς "Ολπῆς θᾶσσον ἀπεχώρουν. οἱ δ' 2
10 Ἀμπρακιῶται καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, ὅσοι τὸ μὲν ἐτύγχανον οὕτως†
ἀθρόοι ξυνεξελθόντες, ὡς ἔγνωσαν ἀπιόντας, ἥρμησαν καὶ
αὐτοὶ καὶ ἔθεον δρόμῳ, ἐπικαταλαβεῖν βουλόμενοι. οἱ δὲ 3
'Ακαρνᾶνες τὸ μὲν πρῶτον καὶ πάντας ἐνόμισαν ἀπιέναι
ἀσπόνδους ὅμοίως καὶ τοὺς Πελοποννησίους ἐπεδίωκον, καὶ
15 τινας αὐτῶν τῶν στρατηγῶν κωλύοντας καὶ φάσκοντας
ἐσπεῖσθαι αὐτοῖς ἡκόντιστέ τις, νομίσας καταπροδίδοσθαι
σφᾶς. ἐπειτα μέντοι τοὺς μὲν Μαρτιέας καὶ τοὺς Πελο-
ποννησίους ἀφίεσαν, τοὺς δ' Ἀμπρακιώτας ἔκτεινον. καὶ ἦν 4
πολλὴ ἔρις καὶ ἄγνοια εἴτε Ἀμπρακιώτης τίς ἐστιν εἴτε Πελο-
20 πονήσιος. καὶ ἐς διακοσίους μέν τινας αὐτῶν ἀπέκτειναν· οἱ
δ' ἄλλοι διέφυγον ἐς τὴν Ἀγραΐδα ὅμορον οὖσαν, καὶ Σαλύν-
θιος αὐτοὺς διαβαστεῖν τῶν Ἀγραίων φίλοι ὡν ὑπεδέξατο.

Οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Ἀμπρακιῶται ἀφικνοῦνται ἐπ' Ἰδο- 112
μεγήν. ἐστὸν δὲ δύο λόφων ἡ Ἰδομενὴ ὑψηλῷ τούτοις τὸν
25 μὲν μείζων νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης οἱ προαποσταλέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ
Δημοσθένους ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔλαθόν τε καὶ ἔφθασαν
προκαταλαβόντες, τὸν δ' ἐλάσσον ἔτυχον οἱ Ἀμπρακιῶται
προαναβάντες καὶ ηὐλίσαντο. ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης δειπνήσας 2
ἐχώρει καὶ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα ἀπὸ ἐσπέρας εὐθύς, αὐτὸς
30 μὲν τὸ ἥμισυ ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς ἐσβολῆς, τὸ δ' ἄλλο διὰ τῶν
Ἀμφιλοχικῶν δρῶν. καὶ ἄμα ὅρθρῳ ἐπιπίπτει τοῖς Ἀμπρα- 3

ΙΟ μὲν] μένοντες Stahl: μὴ Hude οὕτως] τούτοις Herwerden
II ξυνελθόντες A B E F 27 ante τὸν add. ἐs Krüger

κιώταις ἔτι ἐν ταῖς εὐναῖς καὶ οὐ προησθημένοις τὰ γεγενη-
 4 μένα, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον γομίσαπι τὸν ἑαυτῶν εἶναι· καὶ
 γὰρ τὸν Μεστηρίους πρώτους ἐπίτηδες ὁ Δημοσθένης
 προύταξε καὶ προσαγορεύει ἐκέλευε, Δωρίδα τε γλῶσσαν
 ἴεντας καὶ τοῦ προφύλαξι πίστιν παρεχομένους, ἅμα δὲ καὶ 5
 5 οὐ καθορωμένους τῇ ὄψει τυκτὸς ἔτι οὕσης. ὡς οὖν ἐπέπεσε
 τῷ στρατεύματι αὐτῶν, τρέπουσι, καὶ τὸν μὲν πολλοὺς αὐτοῦ
 διέφθειραν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ κατὰ τὰ ὅρη ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμησαν.
 6 προκατειλημένων δὲ τῶν ὁδῶν, καὶ ἅμα τῶν μὲν Ἀμφιλό-
 χων ἐμπείρων ὄντων τῆς ἑαυτῶν γῆς καὶ ψιλῶν πρὸς διπλίτας, 10
 τῶν δὲ ἀπείρων καὶ ἀνεπιστημόρων διηγή τράπανται, ἐσπί-
 πτοντες ἐς τε χαράδρας καὶ τὰς προλεοχισμένας ἐνέδρας
 7 διεφθείρουντο. καὶ ἐς πᾶσαν ἰδέαν χωρῆσαντες τῆς φυγῆς
 ἐτράποντό τινες καὶ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχουσαν,
 καὶ ὡς εἶδον τὰς Ἀττικὰς ναῦς παραπλεούσας ἅμα τοῦ 15
 ἔργου τῇ ξυντυχίᾳ, προσένευσαν, ἡγησάμενοι ἐν τῷ αὐτίκα
 φόβῳ κρείστον εἶναι σφίσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ναυσίν, εἰ δεῖ,
 διαφθαρῆναι ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ ἐχθίστων Ἀμφιλό-
 χων. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀμπρακιώται τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ κακωθέντες
 8 δλίγοι ἀπὸ πολλῶν ἐσώθησαν ἐς τὴν πόλιν Ἀκαρνάνες δὲ 20
 σκυλεύσαντες τοὺς νεκροὺς καὶ τροπαῖα στήσαντες ἀπεχώ-
 ρησαν ἐς Ἀργος. καὶ αὐτοῖς τῇ ὕστεραίᾳ ἥλθε κῆρυξ ἀπὸ
 τῶν ἐς Ἀγραίους καταφυγόντων ἐκ τῆς Ὀλπης Ἀμπρα-
 κιωτῶν, ἀγαίρεσσιν αἰτήσων τῶν νεκρῶν οὓς ἀπέκτειναν
 ὕστερον τῆς πρώτης μάχης, ὅτε μετὰ τῶν Μαρτιών καὶ 25
 2 τῶν ὑποσπόνδων ξυνεξῆσαν ἀσπονδοι. ἰδὼν δ' ὁ κῆρυξ
 τὰ ὅπλα τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως Ἀμπρακιωτῶν ἐθαύμαξε τὸ
 πλῆθος· οὐ γὰρ ἦδε τὸ πάθος, ἀλλ' ὡς τοι τῷ μετὰ σφῶν
 3 εἶναι. καὶ τις αὐτὸν ἤρετο ὅτι θαυμάζοι καὶ διπόσοι αὐτῶν
 τεθράσιν, οἰόμενος αὖ δὲ ἐρωτῶν εἶναι τὸν κῆρυκα ἀπὸ τῶν 30
 ἐν Ἰδομεναῖς. δὲ δ' ἐφη διακοσίους μάλιστα. ὑπολαβὼν
 4 δ' ὁ ἐρωτῶν εἶπεν 'οὕκουν τὰ ὅπλα ταυτὶ φαίνεται, ἀλλὰ

πλέον ἡ χιλίων?’ αὐθις δὲ εἶπεν ἐκεῦνος ‘οὐκ ἄρα τῶν μεθ’ ἡμῶν μαχομένων ἐστάν.’ ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο ‘εἴπερ γε ὑμεῖς ἐν Ἰδομενῆ χθὲς ἐμάχεσθε.’ ‘ἀλλ’ ἡμεῖς γε οὐδενὶ ἐμαχόμεθα χθές, ἀλλὰ πρώην ἐν τῇ ἀποχωρήσει.’ ‘καὶ 5 μὲν δὴ τούτοις γε ἡμεῖς χθὲς ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως βοηθήσασι τῆς Ἀμπρακιωτῶν ἐμαχόμεθα.’ ὁ δὲ κῆρυξ ὡς ἥκουσε καὶ 5 ἔγνω ὅτι ἡ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως βοήθεια διέφθαρται, ἀνοιμώξας καὶ ἐκπλαγεὶς τῷ μεγέθει τῶν παρόντων κακῶν ἀπῆλθεν εὐθὺς ἄπρακτος καὶ οὐκέτι ἀπῆγεται τοὺς νεκρούς. πάθος γὰρ 6 ιο τοῦτο μιᾶς πόλεις Ἐλληνίδι ἐν ἵσαις ἡμέραις μέγιστον δὴ τῶν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον τόνδε ἐγένετο. καὶ ἀριθμὸν οὐκ ἔγραψα τῶν ἀποθανόντων, διότι ἄπιστον τὸ πλῆθος λέγεται ἀπολέσθαι ως πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῆς πόλεως. Ἀμπρακίαν 15 μέντοι οἶδα ὅτι, εἰ ἐβούληθησαν Ἀκαρνᾶνες καὶ Ἀμφίλοχοι 15 Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Δημοσθένει πειθόμενοι ἔξελεūν, αὐτοβοεὶ ἀ· εἶλον· νῦν δὲ ἔδεισαν μὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔχοντες αὐτὴν χαλε- πώτεροι σφίσι πάροικοι ὥστιν.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τρίτον μέρος νείμαντες τῶν σκύλων τοῖς 114
‘Αθηναίοις τὰ ἄλλα κατὰ τὰς πόλεις διείλοντο. καὶ τὰ μὲν 20 τῶν Ἀθηναίων πλέοντα ἕάλω, τὰ δὲ νῦν ἀνακείμενα ἐν τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς ἱεροῖς Δημοσθένει ἔξηρέθησαν τριακόσιαι παν- οπλίαι, καὶ ἄγων αὐτὰς κατέπλευσεν· καὶ ἐγένετο ἄμα αὐτῷ μετὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς Αἰτωλίας ἔνυμφορὰν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς πράξεως ἀδεεστέρα ἡ κάθοδος. ἀπῆλθον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐν ταῖς εὔκοσι 25 ναυσὶν Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς Ναύπακτον. Ἀκαρνᾶνες δὲ καὶ Ἀμφί- λοχοι ἀπελθόντων Ἀθηναίων καὶ Δημοσθένους τοῖς ως Σαλύνθιον καὶ Ἀγραίους καταφυγοῦσιν Ἀμπρακιώταις καὶ Πελοποννησίοις ἀναχώρησιν ἐσπείσαντο ἐξ Οἰνιαδῶν, οἵπερ καὶ μετανέστησαν παρὰ Σαλυνθίου. καὶ ἐς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον 30 σπονδὰς καὶ ἔνυμμαχίαν ἐποιήσαντο ἐκατὸν ἔτη Ἀκαρνᾶνες καὶ Ἀμφίλοχοι πρὸς Ἀμπρακιώτας ἐπὶ τοῖσδε, ὥστε μήτε

15 ἔξελεūν] ἐπελθεῖν E
G. Hermann: οἵπερ codd.

23 ἐκ om. A B F M [G] 28 οἵπερ
29 Σαλυνθίου G. Hermann: Σαλύνθιον
codd.

⁴ Ἀμπρακιώτας μετὰ Ἀκαργάνων στρατεύει πελοπονησίους μήτε Ἀκαργάνας μετὰ Ἀμπρακιωτῶν ἐπ' Ἀθηναίους, βοηθεῖν δὲ τῇ ἀλλήλῳ, καὶ ἀποδοῦναι Ἀμπρακιώτας δύόσα ή χωρία ἡ δμήρους Ἀμφιλόχων ἔχουσι, καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀνακτόριον μὴ βοηθεῖν πολέμιον δὲν Ἀκαρνάσι. ταῦτα ξυνθέμενοι διέλυσαν τὸν πόλεμον. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κορίνθιοι φυλακὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐς τὴν Ἀμπρακίαν ἀπέστειλαν ἐς τριακοσίους δύπλετας καὶ Ξεροκλείδαν τὸν Εὐθυκλέους ἄρχοντα· οἱ κομιζόμενοι χαλεπῶς διὰ τῆς ἡπείρου ἀφίκοντο. τὰ μὲν κατ' Ἀμπρακίαν οὕτως ἐγένετο.

10

¹¹⁵ Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ Ἀθηναῖοι τοῦ αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος ἐς τὴν Ἰμεραίαν ἀπόβασιν ἐποιήσαντο ἐκ τῶν νεῶν μετὰ τῶν Σικελῶν τῶν ἄγρωθεν ἐσβεβληκότων ἐς τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς ² Ἰμεραίας, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς Αἰόλους γῆσσος ἐπλευσαν. ἀγαχωρήσαντες δὲ ἐς Ρίγιον Πυθόδωρον τὸν Ἰσολόχου Ἀθηναίων ¹⁵ στρατηγὸν καταλαμβάνουσιν ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς διάδοχον δὲν δ ³ Λάχης ἦρχεν. οἱ γὰρ ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἔνυμαχοι πλεύσαντες ἐπεισαν τὸν Ἀθηναίους βοηθεῖν σφίσι πλείσι τανσίν τῆς μὲν γὰρ γῆς αὐτῶν οἱ Συρακόσιοι ἐκράτουν, τῆς δὲ θαλάσσης δλίγαις τανσὶν εἰργόμενοι παρεσκευάζοντο ταντικὸν ξυναγεί- ²⁰ ροντες δῶς οὐ περιοφόμενοι. καὶ ἐπλήρουν τανσὶ τεσταράκοντα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι δῶς ἀποστελοῦντες αὐτοῖς, ἀμα μὲν ἡγούμενοι θᾶσσοι τὸν ἐκεῖ πόλεμον καταλυθήσεσθαι, ἀμα δὲ βουλό- ²⁵ μενοι μελέτην τοῦ ταντικοῦ ποιεῖσθαι. τὸν μὲν οὖν ἔνα τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀπέστειλαν Πυθόδωρος δλίγαις τανσί, Σοφοκλέας δὲ τὸν Σωστρατίδου καὶ Εὐρυμέδοντα τὸν Θουκλέους ἐπὶ τῶν ³⁰ πλειότων νεῶν ἀποπέμψειν ἔμελλον. δ δὲ Πυθόδωρος ἥδη ἔχων τὴν τοῦ Λάχητος τῶν νεῶν ἀρχὴν ἐπλευσε τελευτῶντος τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐπὶ τὸ Λοκρῶν φρούριον δ πρότερον Λάχης εἶλε, καὶ τικηθεὶς μάχῃ ὑπὸ τῶν Λοκρῶν ἀπεχώρησεν.

30

¹¹⁶ Ἐρρύη δὲ περὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἔαρ τοῦτο ὁ ρύαξ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐκ

⁴ δμήρους Poppo: δμόρους codd. ¹³ Σικελῶν τῶν Dobree: Σικελιωτῶν codd. ³⁰ ἀνεχώρησεν A B M

τῆς Αἴτινης, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον, καὶ γῆν τινὰ ἔφθειρε τῷ
Καταναῖων, οἱ ὑπὸ τῇ Αἴτιῃ τῷ ὅρει οἰκοῦσιν, ὅπερ μέγιστόν
ἐστιν ὄρος ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ. λέγεται δὲ πεντηκοστῷ ἔτει ρυῆναι τοῦτο
μετὰ τὸ πρότερον ῥεῦμα, τὸ δὲ ἔξυμπαν τρὶς γεγενῆσθαι
5 τὸ ῥεῦμα ἀφ' οὗ Σικελία ὑπὸ Ἑλλήρων οἰκεῖται. ταῦτα μὲν 3
κατὰ τὸν χειμῶνα τοῦτον ἐγένετο, καὶ ἕκτον ἔτος τῷ πολέμῳ
ἔτελεύτα τῷδε ὃν Θουκυδίδης ἔννέγραψεν.

1 post καὶ add. τὸ A B E F M [G] 2 ὑπὸ] ἐπὶ A B E F M In
fine libri tertii τῶν εἰς τῷ τέλος τῆς ἐ ἀρχὴ τῆς τὸ C



BOOK III

CHAPS. I-25. *Fourth year of the War.*

Third invasion of Attica.

- I ἄμα τῷ σίτῳ ἀκμάζοντι. Thucydides, in his desire for precision, has invented a system, more reliable than the old calendars, founded on the seasons. The summer contains eight months, and it is the season for military operations. The winter four months are a period of rest. The summer is subdivided into (1) ἄμα ἥρι ἀρχομένῳ, (2) τοῦ σίτου ἔτι χλωροῦ ὄντος, (3) περὶ σίτου ἐκβολήν (when the corn was in the ear), (4) τοῦ σίτου ἀκμάζοντος, (5) τρύγητος (the vintage), (6) δύπωρα, φθινόπωρον (the last fine days of autumn).
- 2 ἐγκαθεζόμενοι, ‘pitching their camp there?’
ὅπῃ παρείκοι, ‘wherever it was practicable.’ Cf. 4. 36. 2 κατὰ τὸ αἱεὶ παρείκον.
- εἰργον τὸ μὴ . . . κακουργεῖν. τὸ μὴ κακουργεῖν stands as an object clause to εἰργον. It is the accusative of the verb noun. Cf. 6. 1. 2 διείργεται τὸ μὴ ἡπειρος οὐσα where some would read εἶναι for οὐσα. In CG διά is found after εἰργον and διὰ τό is suspected as a corruption of δι’ αὐτό.
- τῶν ὅπλων, ‘the camp.’
- 3 οὐ . . . τὰ σιτία. So we have in I. 48. 1 τριῶν ἡμερῶν σιτία.
- 2 Revolt of Lesbos which takes place prematurely owing to the discovery of the design by the Athenians.
- I Lesbos, like Chios, was on an equal footing of alliance with Athens. It remained on the original conditions of the Delian confederacy. Mytilene retained its walls, its navy, and its oligarchical government. In case of war it was bound to furnish armed ships. This revolt was planned with the utmost deliberation, as is related in this chapter, and it was the more exasperating to

the Athenians since, as far as we know, it was justified by no excuse, except that of ambition.

οὐ προσεδέξαντο, ‘had not received their proposals.’

καὶ ταύτην, ‘when they actually *did* revolt.’

- 2 τῶν λιμένων τὴν χῶσιν. The entrance of the harbour would be narrowed by a mole till it was sufficiently narrow to be closed, when necessary, by a chain.

τελεσθῆναι. What is usually termed the epexegetic infinitive, ‘they waited for the closing of the harbour . . . for it to be completed.’ The Greek infinitive was originally the dative of an abstract noun, and hence it expresses an action *to* which that of the governing verb is directed, as here it expresses the purpose of their waiting.

ἄ μεταπεμπόμενοι ἦσαν, ‘which they were engaged in sending for.’

- 3 κατὰ στάσιν, ‘out of party spirit.’

ἔνοικίζουσί τε τὴν Λέσβον ἐς τὴν Μυτιλήνην βίᾳ, ‘are forcing Lesbos to become incorporated with Mytilene.’ They endeavoured to compel the towns of Antissa, Eresus, and Pyrrha to merge their own separate governments in the government of Mytilene.

προκαταλήψεται. Used absolutely.

ἡδη, ‘at once.’

- 3 *The Athenians sent a fleet in the hope of surprising Mytilene at the feast of Apollo Maloeis. Their design is frustrated.*

I ἄρτι καθισταμένου καὶ ἀκμάζοντος. It is incredible that *καθισταμένου* can here mean ‘in its infancy’: ‘just beginning’ and ‘at its height’ (*ἀκμάζοντος*) are contradictory. Translate ‘as the war was, just in its middle stage’; cf. 2.36. 3 καθεστηκά δὲ ηλικία, ‘the settled or middle time of life.’ Thucydides is referring to the first part of the war, i. e. the ten years’ war which he probably wrote first, and, as applied to the fourth year, the word is appropriate enough.

προσπολεμώσασθαι, ‘to make a new enemy.’

μεῖζον μέρος νέμοντες τῷ μὴ βούλεσθαι ἀληθῆ εἶναι, ‘assigning too much weight or consideration to the wish that it was not true.’ In their enfeebled condition the Athenians felt unable to attack so powerful an island.

- 3 **Μαλόεντος.** Various interpretations have been given of this name. It probably means ‘Apollo of Malea.’ Cf. 3. 4. 5.

καὶ ἐλπίδα εἶναι ἐπειχθέντας ἐπιπεστῖν ἄφνω, ‘and if they hurried there was hope of surprising them.’ Words of promising, hoping, and the like are followed not only by a future but even a present and aorist infinitive. It was doubtless felt in such cases that the future reference was sufficiently indicated by the *meaning* of the governing verb.

ἢν μὲν ξυμβῇ ἡ πεῖρα. After these words there is a familiar aposiopesis. We should supply εὐ ἔξειν.

εἰπεῖν depends upon the verb of ordering implied in πέμποντιν. καθελεῖν upon εἰπεῖν, which here has a sense of ordering. But this meaning passes into εἰπεῖν from the infinitive which depends upon it. They were to speak to the Mytilenaeans to the end that they should pull down their walls. Cf. 3. 2. 2, note on τελεσθῆναι.

4 τὰς τῶν Μυτιληναίων δέκα τριήρεις. Mytilene in case of war was obliged to furnish armed ships to Athens. These ships were now seized, and the crews placed under guard.

5 πλῷ χρησάμενος means ‘having found fair weather,’ i.e. sailing weather, as opposed to being obliged to row, which by an oxymoron was called δεύτερος πλοῦς. Cf. I. 137. 2 τὴν δὲ ἀσφάλειαν εἶναι μηδένα ἐκβῆναι ἐκ τῆς νεώς μέχρι πλοῦς γένηται.

οἱ δὲ οὔτε . . . τά τε ἄλλα τῶν τειχῶν . . . ἐφύλασσον. οὔτε . . . τε, ‘not . . . but.’ τὰ ἄλλα is an adverbial accusative qualifying ἐφύλασσον, ‘but generally they kept watch about the unfinished works of the walls and harbours, having barricaded them.’ φαρξάμενοι may be taken absolutely or with αὐτά supplied. Or we might write πέρι and make τὰ ἄλλα the direct object of ἐφύλασσον. τὰ ἄλλα is explained by the words τῶν τειχῶν καὶ λιμένων πέρι, ‘all else—I mean what concerned the walls and harbours they guarded, having barricaded the unfinished works.’ The second interpretation is favoured by the position of the words.

4 An Athenian fleet arrives at Mytilene. The inhabitants make a truce on the pretext that they wish to send ambassadors to Athens to explain their proceedings, but really to gain time to send for help to Sparta.

I καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι . . . ὡς ἔωρων. Note that although the subject precedes the conjunction ὡς, it does not belong to the verb of the principal sentence. This is rare.

2 ἦδη, ‘in their extremity?’

4 τῶν διαβαλλόντων ἴνα. One of the citizens of Mytilene who had sent to betray their designs to Athens, but had since changed his mind.

πέμπουσιν . . . εἰ πως πείσειαν. This is the so-called final use of *εἰ*. We may translate ‘they sent in the hope that they should persuade,’ or ‘they sent in the supposition that they should persuade,’ as we incline to the theory that the particle *εἰ* expressed originally a hope or a supposition. But the origin of *εἰ* is really unknown.

ὡς σφῶν οὐδὲν νεωτεριοίντων, ‘on the assurance that they will not revolt.’ ‘νεωτερίζειν, “to act with novelty” is used by litotes for all kinds of violent or revolutionary actions on the part of individuals or states.’ Forbes.

5 ἐν τῇ Μαλέᾳ πρὸς βορέαν. There was another Malea seven miles distant, the most southern promontory of Lesbos. Had Thucydides remembered that, he would have written ἐν τῇ Μαλέᾳ τῇ πρὸς βορέαν. The Malea of the south is called Malia by Strabo and Mania by Ptolemaeus.

τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ‘in what they expected from the Athenians.’ With *προχωρήσειν* we must supply *αὐτά*.

λαθέντες τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ναυτικόν. This was possible owing to the situation of Mytilene, which was built partly on the mainland, partly on a little island divided from the mainland by a narrow channel. It had thus two harbours, one north, one south of the town. The Athenians were anchored off the north harbour leaving the south, for the present, unguarded.

6 ταλαιπώρως. A rare word in Attic, occurring nowhere else in Thucydides, who however has *ἀταλαιπώρος*.

αὐτοῖς, ‘the Mytilenaeans.’

5 *The ambassadors return from Athens. Hostilities are resumed.*

The Athenians are reinforced from Methymna, Imbros, and Lemnos. After an engagement, in which they gained an advantage, the Mytilenaeans retire and wait for help. On the advice of envoys from Sparta and Thebes they send an embassy to Sparta.

2 ἐκ Πελοποννήσου . . . κινδυνεύειν. Thucydides has allowed the sentence to develop rather in the order of his thought than in accordance with grammatical arrangement or the convenience of the reader. *ἐκ Πελοποννήσου* must be taken with *εἰ προσγένοιτο τι*, and

μετ' ἄλλης παρασκευῆς with *κινδυνεύειν*. A more grammatical writer would have said *μετὰ τῆς ἐκ Πελοποννήσου καὶ ἄλλης προσγενησομένης παρασκευῆς κινδυνεύειν*. As the words stand *εἰ προσγένοιτο* must be taken twice, ‘wishing to risk a battle if any forces joined them from the Peloponnese, and with other forces if any joined them.’ Other, that is, than those from the Peloponnese. Why they should expect help both from the Peloponnese and elsewhere is explained in the next sentence. For a similar ‘cross construction’ see 3. 10. 5 ἀδύνατοι δὲ ὅντες καθ' ἐν γενόμενοι διὰ πολυψηφίαν ἀμύνασθαι.

6 *The Athenians take advantage of the inaction of the Mytilenacans to blockade both harbours and shut them off from the sea.*

1 πολὺ θᾶσσον, i.e. than if the Lesbians had given signs of effective strength.

περιορμισάμενοι τὸ πρὸς νότον τῆς πόλεως, ‘having come to anchor about the southern side of the city.’ In 4. 23. 2 we have *περιώρμοντο* πλὴν τὰ πρὸς τὸ πέλαγος which parallels the accusative here, and gives some colour to the reading of a good many MSS. *περιωρμησάμενοι*. However the middle of this verb is not elsewhere found, and the reading of the text gives excellent sense. The Athenians were originally encamped on the north side. Leaving some ships there they now surrounded the south side also: a step they should have taken before.

2 μὴ χρῆσθαι, the so-called epexegetical infinitive ‘they kept the Mytilenacans from the sea that they should not use it.’

ναύσταθμον δὲ μᾶλλον . . . ἡ Μαλέα. ἀγορᾶς is the reading of the MSS. ‘Malea, rather than the southern position, was the station for their ships and provisions.’ For ἀγορᾶς we have to understand some appropriate word from *ναύσταθμον* by a rather harsh zeugma. Hence the correction ἀγορά.

7 *At the request of the Acarnanians Asopius, the son of Phormio, is sent with a naval squadron to their seas, and with them makes an unsuccessful attempt on Oeniadae. He was afterwards killed in attempting a disembarkation on the territory of Leucas.*

Note that this is the last mention of Phormio in the history.

3 *ἀναστήσας*, he ‘raised them’ to join the expedition.

- 4 μέρος τι, 'a considerable portion.'
 φρουρῶν τινῶν. A Peloponnesian garrison, perhaps Corinthians.
- 5 ἀποπλεύσαντες. After sailing a short distance from the island.
- 8 The Mytilenaean ambassadors come to Olympia at the bidding of the Spartans to lay their request before all the assembled members of the league.
- I οἱ ἄλλοι ἔνμμαχοι, 'the other members of the league.'
 τὸ δεύτερον. The internal accusative qualifying ἐνίκα adverbially. Of such accusatives the cognate accusative is an extension.
- 9 The Mytilenaeans apologize for revolting from Athens, a power which had honoured them in peace. The separation is due to incompatibility of policy and sympathies,
- I καθ' ὅσον . . . ἡγοῦνται, 'have joy in them so far as they profit by them, but as counting them traitors to their former friends esteem them meanly.'
- 2 καί, 'and in fact.'
- οὐκ ἄδικος . . . ἔστιν. εἰ τύχοιεν. An apparent irregularity. But really οὐκ ἄδικος αὐτῇ ἡ ἀξιώσις ἔστιν is equivalent to οὐκ ἀν ἄδικως ταῦτα ἀξιώσειαν οἱ "Ελλῆνες. We might use the same form of expression to convey the same meaning in English, 'and not unjust is this feeling should those who revolt and those from whom they separate be one in policy and sympathy.' Similarly in 3. 10. 1 βέβαιοι γιγνομένην . . . εἰ μὴ . . . γίγνοντο where βέβαιοι γιγνομένην is virtually equivalent to 'would last.'
- τῇ παρασκευῇ, 'in forces.' πρόφασίς τε, the so-called postscript τε 'and thirdly.'
- ὅ, as often, is adversative, 'but these conditions.'
- 3 εἰ, equivalent to ὅτι after what is virtually a verb of indignation.
- 10 and can be justified by the behaviour of the Athenians. They became leaders of a confederacy because the Lacedaemonians deserted before the final close of the Persian war, and for a time their supremacy was just. Soon they began to enslave their allies, and we feared our own time would come. We learnt wisdom from their treatment of the others.

- I ἀρετῆς, 'probity.'

εἰδότες οὔτε φιλίαν . . . εἰεν. Ιδιῶται καὶ πόλεις are subjects both of

γίγνοντο and *εἰνεν.* *γίγνοντο*, ‘show themselves,’ ‘behave.’ Cf. 3. 42. 1 ὡν τὸ μὲν μετὰ ἀνοίας φιλέι γίγνεσθαι ‘of which the one usually shows itself?’ Some interpret 1. 37. 3 κατὰ ἔννθηκας γίγνεσθαι, ‘to behave in accordance with the treaty.’ Translate ‘knowing that no friendship between individuals is permanent and no league between cities, unless the parties comport themselves with probity mutually apparent and are similar in general character.’ See note on 3. 9. 2.

ἐν γὰρ τῷ διαλλάσσοντι...καθίστανται, ‘for by the diversity in men’s minds difference in their conduct is caused.’ *καθίστανται* ‘come out.’ Thucydides is fond of using neuter participles to express an abstract idea as concretely as possible. They express action not considered generally, but as manifested on some particular occasion. Cf. 1. 36. 1 γνώτω τὸ μὲν δεδίὸς αὐτοῦ ... μᾶλλον φοβῆσσον, where the participle indicates fear on that particular occasion as opposed to *τὸ δεδίεναι*, ‘fear in general.’

2 ἀπολιπόντων μὲν ὑμῶν . . . ἐργων. The story of the origin of the Athenian Hegemony is told in 1. 95. It appears there that the behaviour of Pausanias became intolerable to the Ionians and islanders, and that they came to the Athenians and besought them to become their Hegemes. After the recall of Pausanias the Spartans sent no more generals for fear that they too should become demoralized, and because they were tired of the whole war. Spartan foreign policy was always selfish.

3 Ἀθηναῖοι . . . Ἐλλησιν. Both datives play a double part, as is seen by the position of the words, although grammatically they both depend on *ξύμμαχοι ἐγενόμεθα*. ‘We became allies not for the Athenians for enslaving the Greeks to them, but for the Greeks for delivering them,’ i. e. we joined the Athenian alliance not to enslave the Hellenes to the Athenians, but for the benefit of the Hellenes to deliver them from the Persian.

4 ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵσου, ‘as equals over equals.’

ἐπαγομένους. Must mean ‘bringing in for their own profit the policy of enslaving the allies,’ but the sense is not very good, and there is plausibility in the conjecture *ἐπειγομένους*, ‘eagerly pursuing.’

5 ἀδύνατοι δὲ ὄντες . . . ἀμύνασθαι. πολυψηφία, ‘diversity of vote.’ διὰ πολυψηφίαν really belongs to *ἀδύνατοι ὄντες*, but it is characteristic of the writer to separate by position words united in sense. Here

the trajectio[n] is due to the desire to bring out the contrast between καθ' ἐι γενομένοι and διὰ πολυψηφίαν. Translate ‘being unable to unite and defend themselves owing to the multitude of conflicting voices.’ Cf. note on 3. 5. 2.

αὐτόνομοι δῆ. δῆ is ironical.

- 6 πιστούς, ‘in whom we could trust.’

οὐ γάρ εἰκὸς ἦν . . . μὴ δρᾶσαι τοῦτο, ‘for it was unlikely that after subduing those whom with us they had taken into league, they would have spared to treat us the survivors in the same way, if they had ever gained the power.’ The reference is to the past throughout, and εἰ ἔδυνθησαν is sound. The Lesbians had seen other members of the league enslaved. They could only suppose that they would have been treated in the same way if the Athenians had ever gained the power to treat them so. We might expect μὴ ἀν δρᾶσαι, but we find infinitives which depend on words of obligation, propriety, or possibility like ἔδει, χρῆν, εἰκὸς ἦν, expressing a potentiality without ἀν.

- 11 It is our exceptional position as equals of Athens that makes us most afraid. We were left independent to justify Athenian aggressions, and that they might use our strength against the weakness of the others. And they feared our fleet lest it should join some other power and attack them. We too were politic, and made interest with their leading men.

- I βεβαιώτεροι ἀν . . . νεωτερεῖν. The personal for the impersonal construction, common in Greek, especially in phrases where δίκαιος occurs. Translate ‘we should have felt more confident that they would make no change towards us.’

χαλεπώτερον . . . ἀντισουμένον. An object to οὔσειν must be supplied out of the words ἡμῶν ὄμιλοῦντες, ‘this equality?’ καὶ is used, as often with numerals, to emphasize τὸ πλέον, ‘so much as,’ ‘actually.’ τοῦ ἡμετέρου, gen. abs. πρός, ‘in comparison with.’ Translate ‘they were likely to be more exasperated at this equality, since we, although quite the greater part were now yielding, alone remained their equals.’ The rhetorical exaggeration of μόνον (the Chians too remained free), and the rarity of ἀντισουμένον, which like some other Thucydidean words occurs again only in late writers, are insufficient grounds for suspecting corruption.

$\ddot{\sigma}\omega = \tau\sigma\sigma\dot{\nu}\tau\omega$ $\ddot{\sigma}\sigma\nu$ (by attraction $\ddot{\sigma}\sigma\omega$), ‘in proportion as.’

- ² τὸ δὲ ἀντίπαλον . . . ξυμμαχίαν, 'an equality of mutual fear is the only sure guarantee of an alliance.' Somewhat inconsistent with this is the beginning of chapter 12, where the speaker complains that their alliance was cemented by fear while other alliances rested on good-will. But few speakers are afraid of inconsistency when they wish to make a particular point.

τῷ μὴ προύχων . . . ἀποτίπεται, 'is deterred by the feeling that he would make his attack at a disadvantage.'

- ³ αὐτόνομοί τε. τε introduces the third reason of the insecurity of the present position of the Mytilenaeans.

$\ddot{\sigma}\sigma\sigma\nu = \kappa\alpha\theta'$ $\ddot{\sigma}\sigma\sigma\nu$, 'so far as.'

ἔς τὴν ἀρχήν, ‘to win empire,’ is a further definition of *τὰ πρίγματα καταληπτά*, which it repeats with an addition. Translate ‘and we were left independent for no other reason save in so far as they thought that success must be gained for winning empire by fair words and the assaults of diplomacy rather than of force.’

- 4 ἄμα μὲν γὰρ . . . ξυστρατεύειν. This sentence is usually explained by an ellipse. ‘They used us as evidence that those who, like ourselves, had equal votes would not have taken the field with them against our will (and so would not have aided them at all) unless those they were attacking had been in the wrong,’ and in support of this is quoted Dem. 54. 32 οὐδέποτ’ ἀν . . . τὰ ψευδῆ μαρτυρεῖν ἡθέλησαν εἰ μὴ ταῦθ’ ἔωρων πεποιθότα, ‘they would never have given false witness, nor consented to say what they do say, unless they had seen.’ The scholiast is so puzzled that he emends to ἐκόντας. But ἀκοντας = εἰ μὴ ἡθελον, and runs co-ordinately with εἰ μὴ τι ἡδίκουν, which explains and justifies εἰ μὴ ἡθελον, ‘would not have taken the field with them unless they had been willing to do so, unless, that is to say, those they were attacking had been in the wrong.’ We have an analogous phrase in 3. 43. 3 μίνην τε πόλιν διὰ τὸς περινοίας εὑρὶς ποιῆσαι ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς μὴ ἐξαπατήσαντα ἀδύνατον. [Mr. Forbes suggests that the clause μὴ ἀν τοῖς γε is not the fact to which evidence is borne but the argument which constitutes the evidence to the honesty of the Athenians, ‘they used as evidence in their favour the argument that.’ This consorts better with the meaning of μαρτύριον, which is ‘a deposition’ rather than ‘a witness.’]

μή. In indirect discourse the ordinary negative is *οί*, but there is a tendency in Greek to resort to the form of prohibition to express strong or passionate or solemn denial. Hence *μή* here. *ἄμα μέν* is answered by *ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ δέ*.

τὰ κράτιστα = τοὺς κρατίστους. It is also the object of *λιπόντες*.

τὰ τελευταῖα λιπόντες, ‘leaving us to the last.’ Notice the article used in the predicate. Cf. 3. 85. **Ι τοιαύταις ὄργαις ταῖς πρώταις ἐσ** ἀλλήλους **ἔχρήσαντο.** 3. 23. **3 οἱ . . . οἱ τελευταῖοι καταβαίνοντες.**

τοῦ ἄλλου. The collective singular.

5 **ἔχόντων ἔτι . . . στῆναι**, ‘while all had still strength in themselves and a rallying-point in us.’

6 **τό τε ναυτικόν.** **τε**, ‘and thirdly.’

προσθέμενον is redundant after **καθ'** *ἐν γενόμενον* with which it is identical in meaning.

7 **τὰ δέ**, an adverbial accusative to be taken with **περιεγιγνόμεθα**, ‘and to a certain degree also we escaped by.’

8 **οὐ μέντοι . . . ἐσ τοὺς ἄλλους.** **ἄν**, which goes with **δυνηθῆναι**, is often thus separated from its own verb by such verbs as **δοκῶ**, **οἴμαται**, **οἶδα**, &c. It is rare to find an infinitive with **ἄν**, equivalent to a past tense of the indicative with **ἄν**, after anything but a present tense, which has led one editor to conjecture **δοκοῦμεν** here. But cf. 8. 2. **Ι ἐπηρμένοι ἦσαν . . . νομίσαντες καν ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἔκαστοι ἐλθεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰ τὰ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ κατώρθωσαν.** **ἐδοκοῦμεν**, ‘we thought.’ Translate ‘it seemed to us, taught by their treatment of the other allies, that we could not have held out for long if this war had not broken out.’

12 *Our alliance was one of fear not of friendship. We must not be blamed for taking the initiative. The power of attack always lay with the Athenians. It was only fair that we should take measures of precaution.*

I **τίς οὖν αὕτη . . . πιστή.** Most MSS. show **ἥ**, but if that is retained the position of **πιστή** is indefensible. But one MS. has **ἢ**, which is clearly required by the sense.

τίς = qualis. ‘What sort of either sure friendship or sure freedom was this?’ i.e. by what right could this be called sure—be it friendship or freedom?

παρὰ γνώμην, ‘contrary to our real inclinations.’

ὑπεδεχόμεθα. The regular word for the admission of strangers who

come into an alien state, and have commerce with it. Cf. Plato's Laws, 952 E ἀγορᾶς καὶ λιμέσιν ἵποδέχεσθαι. Here of mutual intercourse between states united in peace and friendship.

καὶ οἱ μὲν ἥμας. An obvious rejoinder to this argument would have been to ask why Athens had not employed the fourteen years' truce to crush the Mytilenaeans when her hands were free. But much of the argument is disingenuous, though the substantial grievance of the despotism of Athens was real enough.

ὅ τε τοῖς ἄλλοις . . . παρεῖχε. *ὅ* is usually explained as an adverbial accusative, 'and whereas,' but this construction lacks authority. It is more likely that Thucydides, from his desire of compression, has joined together two sentences, leaving the combination ungrammatical. He probably had in his mind *ὅ τε μάλιστα εὖνοια ποιεῖ, πίστιν βεβαῖοι*, 'and that which good-will effects, viz. secures confidence.' Cf. 6. 33. 6 ὅπερ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι αὐτοὶ οὕτοι τοῦ Μήδου παρὰ λόγον πολλὰ σφαλέντος . . . ηὐξήθησαν. In 2. 40. 3 ὁ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀμαθίᾳ μὲν θράσος, λογισμὸς δὲ ὄκνον φέρει, the *ὅ* is left without construction by an anacoluthon caused by a desire for a sharp antithesis. Cf. 4. 125. 1 ὅπερ φιλεῖ μεγάλα στρατόπεδα ἀσαφῶς ἐκπλήγνυσθαι. Translate 'and what in other cases is commonly effected by mutual good-will, which secures confidence, that in our case was assured by fear.'

καὶ παραβήσεσθαι. *Kai* introduces their consequent action 'accordingly' 'so.'

- 2 **μέλλησιν**, in this transitive sense, does not seem to occur again.
- 3 **εἰ γὰρ δυνατοὶ . . . προαμύνασθαι.** The MSS. show ἀντεπιμελῆσαι which is perhaps a nonce-word invented by Thucydides himself in imitation of ἀντεπιβολεῦσαι. The correction adopted in the text ἀντιμελῆσαι is equally unknown elsewhere. The rest of the sentence will translate as it stands (*a*) 'Had we been equally able to plot as they do and to defer our attack, what need was there for us to be subject to their discretion as we are?' or (*b*) supplying *οὗτοις* with *ἐκ τοῦ ὅμοίου*, 'What need for us to be subject to their discretion if we are their equals? but since the power of attack is always in their hands, we too should have the right to take precautions for defence'; i. e. there would have been no reason for us to remain, as we are, in subjection to them, if we had been able to meet their intrigues, &c., with intrigues of our own. Our present position of

inferiority shows that we were unable to do this. But at any rate we should be allowed the right to take precautionary measures against those who always have the power of attack in their hands. One editor translates ἀντιμελλῆσαι, ‘to meet threats with threats.’ (c) In sentences of this kind in Thucydides we expect the two divisions of the sentence to stand in some logical connexion, but in this sentence the connexion between the first part and the second is not quite clear. It has been conjectured that Thucydides wrote καὶ ἀντεπιμελλῆσαι τι ἔδει ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ ὄμοίου ἐπ’ ἐκείροις ἴεναι, ‘then it would have been right for us, equally with them, to defer making our attack upon them.’ With that sense the second half of the sentence coincides admirably.

13 *Our revolt has been made before we were fully prepared. It is your business to help us all you can. Never was there a fairer opportunity, for Athens is crippled by the plague. You are concerned as nearly as ourselves, for money is the sinews of war, and it is by our contributions that Athens maintains the struggle against you.*

1 προφάσεις. Grounds which are *put forward*, whether the real grounds or not.

σαφεῖς μὲν . . . ἐδράσαμεν, ‘clear to guide our hearers to the conviction that we acted rightly.’ For γνῶναι cf. note on 3. 2. 2.

καὶ ἐνομίζομεν ἀποστήσεσθαι . . . προποιῆσαι. In the sophistical manner of his time the writer plays upon the meaning of ἀφίστασθαι, which in the one case means ‘abstain from’ in the other ‘revolt from.’ For the infinitives ποιεῖν, ξυνέλευθεροῖν cf. note on 3. 2. 2. Translate ‘we thought we should make a double revolt—one from the Hellenes, in ceasing to aid the Athenians to oppress them instead of helping to set them free, and the other from the Athenians in being the first to act instead of waiting to be ourselves destroyed by them hereafter.’

2 θᾶσσον, i.e. η̄ ἐβούλόμεθα. Note that an adverb θᾶσσον and adjective ἀπαράσκενος are here co-ordinated by καὶ: cf. 3. 82. 2 μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἡσυχαίτερα.

3 ἐφθάραται. Thucydides follows Herodotus in using -αται, -ατο as the 3rd plur. of perf. and plupf. pass. but only in a few places. These forms are afterwards only found twice, in Plato and Xenophon. In inscriptions, previous to B.C. 410, they occur three times.

5 φῶ γὰρ . . . παρίξει, ‘for whoso thinks that Lesbos is far away (let him know that) Lesbos will bring the aid near to him.’

οὐ γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ. ἐν is used as in I. 74. 1 ἐν ταῖς νανσὶ τὰ πράγματα ἐγένετο, ‘for the war will not turn on Attica, but on those countries by which Attica is supported.’

6 ἔστι δὲ . . . ἡ πρόσοδος. Cf. 2. 13. 2 τά τε τῶν ἔνυμάχων διὰ χειρὸς ἔχειν, λέγων τὴν ἴσχυν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τούτων εἶναι τῶν χρημάτων τῆς προσόδου.

7 οὐπερ . . . προσδεῖ, ‘which is particularly the reinforcement (*πρός*) you need.’

ἥν εἴχετε, ‘which you have enjoyed up till now.’

τὸ κράτος, ‘victory.’

I4 Help us then, for our success means the common weal, our failure the common misfortune. Show yourselves worthy of your reputation and of the hopes that are reposed in you.

I τάς . . . ἐσ ὑμᾶς ἐλπίδας. Thucydides is fond of an extended use of ἐσ. ‘Hopes in regard to you.’ Here in his manner, he uses a substantitive with the construction of a verb.

ἴσα καὶ=aeque ac. Cf. Soph. O. T. 1187 ὡς ὑμᾶς ἴσα καὶ τὸ μηδὲν ζώσας ἐναριθμῶ. Eur. Electr. 994 σεβίζω σ' ἴσα καὶ μάκαρας. Herodotus uses ὁμοῖα, παραπλήσια, &c., in the same way. Cf. Hdt. 3. 8 σέβονται Ἀράβιοι πίστεις ἀνθρώπων ὁμοῖα τοῖς μᾶλιστα. So Thucydides in 7. 29. 4 has τὸ γὰρ γένος ὁμοῖα τοῖς μᾶλιστα τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ . . . φονικώτατόν ἔστι.

ἴδιον μὲν . . . σφαλησόμεθα. *ἴδιον* and *κοινήν* are predicative. παραβάλλεσθαι usually takes the accusative of the thing risked, e. g. one's life. By a slight extension the danger is here said to be risked. μή belongs only to πεισθέντων. Translate ‘do not abandon us who, though the danger we incur of our lives is our own, shall bring a common profit to all out of success, and a still more common detriment if you hearken not and we fall.’

I5 The Peloponnesian confederacy accepts the proposals of the Mytileneans, and preparations are made for an invasion of Attica by land and sea. The gathering of the harvest causes delay.

I καὶ τὴν ἐσ τὴν Ἀττικὴν . . . ὡς ποιησόμενοι. The important word *τὴν ἐσβολήν*, which is really governed by *ὡς ποιησόμενοι*, is put at the

beginning of the sentence where it plays the part of an absolute case. Notice that the subject, which is at first *οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι* shrinks to *οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι* alone as the sentence proceeds. *παροῦστι*, ‘since they were present,’ a redundancy characteristic of the writer; we already know that they were present. The inversion of the natural order of words in this sentence is intended to mark clearly the action of the allies as opposed to the action of the Lacedaemonians themselves, and throws emphasis on the dominant word of the sentence *τὴν ἐσβολήν*. *τοῖς δύο μέρεσιν*. We find the article with fractions of a whole. Translate ‘and as to the invasion of Attica, they enjoined the allies being on the spot to march with two thirds of their numbers to the isthmus, in accordance with their determination to invade; and they themselves arrived first.’

τῶν νέων. The ships which had fought against Phormio were to be carried over the isthmus, on rollers or trucks, from the harbour of Lechaeum into the Saronic Gulf.

2 *οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ξύμμαχοι*, ‘and the other members of the league.’

καὶ ἐν καρποῦ . . . στρατεύειν. ‘But they were engaged in harvesting, and were filled with disinclination to serve:’ note the different application of *ἐν* to (1) a concrete, (2) an abstract word. *ἀρρωστίᾳ* of moral disability.

16 *The Athenians man 100 fresh ships, and make descents on the Peloponnese; at this the Peloponnesian retire, and prepare a fleet to send to Lesbos under Alcidas.*

I **διὰ κατάγνωσιν ἀσθενείας σφῶν.** *κατάγνωσιν* has so far as is possible the construction of its verb, *καταγιγώσκω*, which often means ‘to ascribe something to some one.’ Translate ‘because they attributed weakness to them.’

καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου. *καὶ* = ‘actually.’

ἐσβάντες αὐτοῖ. Solon’s classes were (1) *πεντακοσιομέδιμνοι*, (2) *ἰππεῖς*, (3) *ζευγῖται*, (4) *θῆτες* who usually served as sailors. The present fleet therefore was manned by *ζευγῖται* and *θῆτες* as well as by *μέτοικοι*, the alien settlers in Athens, who paid certain taxes and supplied 3,000 hoplites to the army (2. 31. 2) but enjoyed only a small share of civic rights.

ἀναγαγόντες. A rare use of the active for the middle.

2 παράλογον, 'miscalculation.'

τριάκοντα νῆες. The Peloponnes had already heard from the Mytilenaeans that these ships which were dispatched (3. 7) under Asopius to Acarnania were about the Peloponnesus. They receive further tidings now of depredations committed by them upon their shores, and this, coupled with the non-appearance of their allies and the new exertions of the Athenian marine, cause them to abandon their design and return home. Many editors suppose that the ships here referred to cannot be the thirty ships, on the ground that the Peloponnes knew all about them already, and imagine τριάκοντα to be a corruption, understanding these ships of the fleet which had first set out.

τὴν περιοικίδα. The land belonging to the Lacedaemonian Perioiki in Laconia and Messenia.

17 An account of the Athenian ships that were on service at the same time in the first year of the war. Probably an interpolation.

This chapter has been suspected as interpolated by some one who wished to see elucidated more distinctly the financial difficulties mentioned in chapter 19. It is certainly full of difficulties, which will be noticed in the commentary.

I ἐν τοῖς πλεύσται. This phrase which occurs in various forms is used both in a weak and in a strong sense; i. e. ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοι may mean 'among the first' or 'the very first.' Here it may be used in either sense. We must always supply a participle from the context to go with the article, as here πλεούσας; but the masculine form of the article is always retained, even with feminine adjectives as here, no doubt because the phrase originated with masculine and neuter nouns and the masculine form has become stereotyped.

ἐνεργοὶ κάλλει. These words have been explained 'about the time at which the ships were at sea, the Athenians had the largest number of ships effective by their fine condition which they ever had at the same time, but in numbers they had as many or still more at the beginning of the war.' This introduces an antithesis between numbers and effective numbers which is, in any case, weak, and would certainly have been indicated more clearly in the Greek if it had been intended. ἐνεργός is nowhere else used for ships, and is

not found again in Thucydides. *κάλλος* in this sense is similarly unexampled. One editor would read *καὶ ἄλλῃ* ‘in other parts also.’

παραπλήσιαι δέ. The writer then proceeds to enumerate the ships that were on service at the same time in *the first year* of the war. Their number comes to 250. Against this we could only set 150 for the fourth year of the war, the 40 before Mytilene, 12 under Asopius (who had sent back the rest of his ships), the 100 mentioned in chapter 16 and perhaps 5 more. The difference between 150 and 250 is too great to allow the use of the word *παραπλήσιαι*.

2 *τήν τε γὰρ Ἀττικήν . . . ἐφύλασσον.* It is obvious that this enumeration must refer to the first year of the war since the total here detailed comes to 250, which is the only total to which *τοσαῦται* at the end of the chapter can refer. There it is stated that this was the highest total ever reached, and we have already been told that in the first year the highest total was reached. Moreover *αἱ περὶ Ποτείδαιων* can only refer to the first year of the war. This being so, of this 100 ships which we are here told guarded Attica, &c., at the beginning of the war this is positively the first mention, a thing which is incredible. Perhaps the interpolator has been misled by the 100 ships of reserve mentioned in 2. 24. 2.

χωρὶς δὲ . . . χωρίους. The enumeration has left only 50 ships for Potidaea and the other places. In 1. 61. 4 we are told that 70 ships were engaged in the siege of Potidaea, and in 2. 26. 1 the Athenians send 30 ships to Locris and Euboea which may be considered ‘the ships in other places,’ so that only 20 would be left for Potidaea.

3 *τοῦτο.* The maintenance of so many ships.

4 *δίδραχμοι.* This was more than the usual pay. In this account of the pay earned by the troops besieging Potidaea it is strange that no mention is made of the force dispatched there under Hagnon and Theopompus (2. 58) consisting of 4,300 men who for a time shared in the siege.

ἔφρούρουν, here, unusually, ‘besieged.’

ἐλάμβανε. This change to the singular is remarkable.

τὸν αὐτὸν μισθόν. This was double the usual pay. Thus it will be seen that the chapter contains many difficulties which united make up a serious indictment against it. One editor endeavours to save

the whole by sacrificing a part. He reads *παραπλήσιαι καὶ ἔτι πλείους ἢ ἀρχομένου τοῦ πολέμου*, and what follows must then be taken as an enumeration of the naval forces employed in this, the fourth year of the war. He is compelled to cut out *περὶ Ποτείδαιαν καὶ* in section (2), and to make other arbitrary alterations.

- 18** *The Mytilenaeans make an unsuccessful attack on Methymna and the Methymnaeans on Antissa. The Athenians reinforce the army blockading Mytilene, and surround the town with a double wall.*

I ὅν, repeat *κατά*.

ὡς προδιδομένην. Note the tense: ‘thinking treason was at work there.’

προυχώρει is impersonal, ‘when their success did not answer to their expectations.’

2 *πληγέντες*. So used in the aor. and pf. pass. of a severe defeat.

3 *ταῦτα*. Explained by the two participial clauses that follow.

4 *αὐτερέται*, to be taken predicatively with *πλεύσαντες*. Hoplites who also rowed the triremes.

φρούρια δ' ἔστιν οὐ . . . ἐγκατωκοδόμηται. *ἔστιν οὖ* or *οὐ* is the MSS. reading, which editors correct to *οὐ* or *οὐ* to suit better with *ἐπὶ τῶν καρτερῶν*. The tense of *ἐγκατωκοδόμηται* is difficult. It must mean that forts had already been built on strong positions before the single wall was built. As the historic present *περιτειχίζονται* answers to an aorist, *ἐγκατωκοδόμηται* will answer to a pluperfect. But it is difficult to believe that this was the state of affairs, and the conjecture *ἐγκατοικοδομεῖται* is tempting.

- 19** *The Athenians pay a war tax for the siege of Mytilene, and send round to collect an extraordinary impost from the allies. Death of Lysicles.*

I *καὶ αὐτοί*. Before only the allies had contributed. This was the first direct contribution raised among the Athenians themselves.

ἀργυρολόγους ναῦς. It is not clear what relation these ships bore to the regular tribute paid by the subject allies. Perhaps this was an extraordinary impost evoked by the necessities of the time.

Λυσικλέα. Probably the Lysicles whom Aspasia is said to have married after the death of Pericles.

- 2 τῆς ἄλλης στρατιᾶς, 'of the army besides.' Cf. 3. 112. 2 Δημοσθένης καὶ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα.

- 20 *Attempt of the Plataeans to break out of their besieged town. They make ladders, calculating the proper height by counting the lays of the bricks.*

- 1 τοῦ αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος. Genitive of the time within which.
ἐσηγησαμένων, 'at the suggestion of.'

- 2 ἀπώκνησάν πως. Note that ἀποκνεῖν here takes a direct object. πως. He doesn't think it worth while to detail the how and wherefore.

ἐσ δὲ ἄνδρας . . . τοιῷδε. The sentence is slightly obscured by its brevity. The meaning is 'about 220 volunteers persisted in the scheme of a sortie, which they made in the following manner.' They were volunteers since the formal decree for a sortie was out-voted or repealed.

- 3 ξυνεμετρήσαντο δὲ . . . αὐτῶν. Sc. τὰς κλίμικας. ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς. A dative following a verb of calculation, 'they calculated the height of the ladders by the courses of the bricks, where the enemy's wall as it faced them was free from whitewash.'

ἡριθμοῦντο . . . καὶ ἔμελλον. The two verbs are put co-ordinately although the first gives the reason for the second.

ἄλλὰ ῥᾳδίως . . . τοῦ τείχους, 'but the wall was visible easily for their object.' It is clearly impossible to take *ἐσ* ὁ as = ὅστοι, or to translate *ἐσ* ὁ ἐβούλοντο, 'that part of the wall which they intended to climb.' *ἐσ* is quite common in the sense of 'in regard to.'

- 4 τῆς πλίνθου. Collective singular.

- 21 *A description of the walls of circumvallation surrounding Plataea.*

- 1 πρός τε Πλαταιῶν . . . ἐπίοι, 'one on the side of Plataea, the other in case of Athenian attack from without.' 'πρός, with the genitive, expresses direction without the idea of motion towards or rest on the object.'

- 2 τὸ οὖν μεταξὺ . . . ξυνεχῆ, 'this intervening space, the sixteen feet, was built into dwellings divided out among the guards, and the building

formed a continuous whole,' i.e. the two walls were joined together by a roof to look like one thick wall, and afforded covered quarters for the besiegers. *οἰκίματα*, predicative, is the internal accusative with *φύκοδόμητο*, analogous to 1. 122. 4 ἡ τὸ ἐναντίον ὄνομα ἀφροσύνη μετωνόμασται.

- 3 διά, 'at intervals of.'

διήκοντες . . . διησαν, 'extending equally (*οἱ αὐτοὶ*) to the inner and outer face of the wall, so that there was no way by the side of the towers, but the guards passed through them.' The towers covered the whole breadth of the double wall, allowing a passage inside but none outside.

- 4 χειμῶν νοτερός, 'rainy weather.'

- 22 *The Plataeans make their sortie, climbing the wall between two towers. A falling tile betrays their operations, but the Plataeans left behind create a diversion, and at the same time hoist fire signals to confuse the signals the Lacedaemonians make to their allies in Thebes.*

- I τηρήσαντες, 'having watched for.'

ἀνὰ τὸ σκοτεινόν, 'in the prevailing darkness.' This preposition only occurs twice in Thucydides, here and in 4. 72. 2 τῶν δὲ ψιλῶν ἀνὰ τὸ πεδίον ἐσκεδασμένων.

αὐτῶν, 'the guards.' For the genitive absolute in spite of *τοὺς φύλακας* cf. 3. 13. 7 βοηθησάντων ὑμῶν προθύμως πόλιν προσλήψεσθε.

- 2 ἀσφαλείας ἔνεκα τῆς πρὸς τὸν πηλόν. Commentators are divided on the question which foot contributed to safety, the shod or the unshod, in the mud. It would be thought that a bare foot would slip in the mud more than a shod one and that it was more important to have the left foot planted firmly than the right.

- 3 μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν . . . ἀνέβαινον. Some editors write ἔχώρουν for ἀνέβαινον here, and ἀνέβαινον for ἔχώρουν below. But this gives a wrong meaning to the sentence. μετὰ αὐτὸν οἱ ἐπόμενοι = 'Ammeas and his followers,' and the sentence to ἀνέβαινον is parenthetical, describing the intention of their climbing. The object of ἀνέβαινον is the intervening wall, not the towers. The time for an attack on the towers was not yet. 'And Ammeas and his followers were climbing, six to attack either tower.'

- 4 οἱ ἐκ τῶν πύργων. See note on 24. 3 and 102. 3.
 5 ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ὥρμησεν, ‘rushed out on the wall.’
 ἐκ τοῦμπαλιν ἦ, ‘on the side opposite the side where.’ Cf. 7. 80. 1
 ἀλλὰ τούγαντίον ἦ οἱ Συρακόσιοι ἐτήρουν.
 6 ἐν ἀπόρῳ ἦσαν εἰκάσαι, ‘were at a loss . . . for conjecturing.’ Such uses of the infinitive are very intelligible when we remember that it was, by origin, a dative. Cf. 1. 25. 1 ἐν ἀπόρῳ εἴχοιτο θέσθαι τὸ παρόν.
 7 ἔξω τοῦ τείχους. They patrolled outside the walls since, for all they knew, the alarm might be caused by an attack of the Athenians. C reads ἔξωθεν, which is not again found with a genitive in Thucydides.

φρυκτοὶ . . . πολέμιοι, ‘beacons to give notice of the enemy.’

- 8 παρανίσχον δὲ καὶ. παρά denotes the intended confusion. Grote points out that the blockaders must have been in the habit of transmitting intelligence to Thebes by fire signals. The besieged had observed this, and had prepared fire signals on their part, which were designed to confuse the meaning of this telegraphic communication.

ἢ καὶ μὴ βοηθοῖεν. The subjunctive is often used for the optative in final clauses for the sake of vividness. Here we have the two forms in the same sentence without any distinction of meaning, just as we find the indicative and optative interchanged in *Oratio Obliqua*. Cf. 6. 96. 3 ὅπως τῶν τε Ἐπιπολῶν εἴησαν φύλακες καὶ . . . ταχὺ ξυνεστῶτες παραγίγωνται. Others suppose the subjunctive (the mood of will) gives the nearer, the optative (the mood of wish) the remoter purpose, but cf. 6. 96 where the so-called optative of the ‘remoter purpose’ comes first.

πρὶν σφῶν οἱ ἄνδρες. This use of σφῶν for ἑαυτῶν (referring to the subject of its own sentence) is Ionic, as we see from the usage of Herodotus. Cf. 1. 25. 2 τόν τε οἰκιστὴν ἀποδεικνύντες σφῶν ἐκ Κορίθου ὄντα.

- 23 *The assailants hold two of the towers and climb over the intervening space. They are attacked as they descend by the 300 appointed to guard the outside wall, but are favoured by the darkness and escape across the half frozen trench.*

I καὶ κάτωθεν καὶ ἀνωθεν, to be taken with εἰργον βιδλούτες, referring to those guarding the passages and to those on the summits.

οἱ δ' ἐν τούτῳ refers to those at the foot of the wall. Explained by *οἱ πλείους*.

τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἀπώσαντες. By tearing down the battlements they made it possible to plant a greater number of ladders.

2 *ὁ διακομιζόμενος αἰτεῖ*, 'as each crossed over, he stood on the edge of the (outside) trench.'

κωλυτῆς γίγνοιτο. Thucydides is fond of using a substantive and auxiliary instead of a simple verb.

3 *οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων . . . καταβαίνοντες*, 'those from the towers descending, the last of them, with difficulty.' Cf. note on ch. 3. 11. 4. *οἱ τελευταῖοι* stands to *οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων* as the part to the whole.

4 *ἐκ τοῦ σκότους.* To be taken with *ἔώρων*.

ἐς τὰ γυμνά, 'against their unshielded, i. e. right sides.'

5 *ἀλλ' οἷος . . . μᾶλλον.* *ἢ* cannot mean 'or' as the North Wind was not a thawing wind. Either then we must suppose *μᾶλλον* to be misplaced, and construe *ἀπηλιώτου μᾶλλον ἢ βορέον*, which is an awkward expression at the best, or understand *ἢ βορέον* as a scholiast's note which has been inserted in the text in the wrong place. *ἀπηλιώτου* is to be classed alongside of the genitive of time. It is a special usage with *οἷος*, *ὡς*, &c. Cf. Soph. Ant. 256 *φεύγοντος ὡς*, Trach. 768 *ώστε τέκτονος*, O. T. 1260 *ὡς ὑφηγητοῦ*. With *μᾶλλον* we must supply in thought *ἢ βέβαιος*.

ὑπονειφορέντη. A rare use of the passive of an intransitive verb.

ὑπερέχοντες, 'keeping their heads above water.'

ἔγένετο . . . ἢ διάφεντις. The more common word is *διαφυγή*. Thucydides is fond of these forms in *-στις*, especially in connexion with *γίγνεσθαι* the passive of *ποιεῖσθαι*. They were afterwards usual in the later historians.

διὰ τοῦ χειμῶνος τὸ μέγεθος. This order of words, by which the genitive is placed between the preposition and the noun it governs, is almost confined to Thucydides and Herodotus.

24 *Baffling pursuit by a feigned direction they subsequently escape to Athens.*

1 *ἐχώρουν . . . τὴν ὁδόν.* *τὴν ὁδόν* resembles very closely the cognate accusative, and, like that accusative, belongs to the class of accusatives which repeat with more or less modification the meaning

given by the verb. Cf. below *ταίτην τραπέσθαι* and *τὴν ἐπ' Ἀθηνῶν . . . διώκοντας.*

ῆκιστ' (ἄν) ὑποτοπῆσαι. The MSS. have no *ἄν*. Can an aorist infinitive be used to express future time after verbs of thinking, unless such verbs (e.g. *ελπίζω*, *εἰκός ἔστι*) contain in themselves a determination to the future? There are quite a number of instances in Thucydides, but in each case *ἄν*, as here, might easily have dropped out or the usual confusion of aorist and future terminations have taken place. Cf. 2. 3. 2 *ἐνόμισαν ἐπιθέμενοι ῥᾳδίως κρατῆσαι*. Is it possible that these verbs, e.g. *νομίζω*, were sometimes considered as verbs of expectation, just as we say ‘I thought to do it’?

2 *λαβόμενοι τῶν ὄρῶν*, ‘reaching the mountains.’ Cf. 3. 106. 3 *λαβόμενοι δὲ τοῦ Θυάμου ὄρους.*

3 *οἱ μὲν οὖν Πελοποννήσιοι . . . παυσάμενοι*, ‘the Peloponnesians desisted from the pursuit and returned to their stations.’ *βοήθεια* is often applied to any forward movement of an armed host. The sense of ‘rescue’ disappears.

οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Πλαταιῆς. This proleptic use of *ἐκ* is common in Greek. It implies that some movement or action is to proceed from the person or thing concerned. Here the use is occasioned by *κήρυκα ἐκπέμψαντες*.

εἰδότες οὐδέν, τῶν δὲ . . . ἀπαγγειλάντων. Thucydides uses considerable freedom in connecting cases not strictly co-ordinate.

ἐσπένδοντο ἀναίρεσιν τοῖς νεκροῖς, ‘they sought to make a truce for taking up the dead.’ For *σπένδομαι* with the accusative of the thing and dative of the person cf. 3. 109. 2 *ἀναχώρησιν δὲ οὐκ ἐσπείσαντο ἅπασι.*

25 *Salaethus the Lacedaemonian makes his way into Mytilene, and encourages the citizens to hold out. End of the fourth year of the war.*

1 *κατὰ χαράδραν τινά*, ‘by way of a certain ravine.’
προαποπεμφθῆναι τε. Postscript *τε.*

2 *πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους* depend upon both verbs in the sentence, ‘they had less inclination to the Athenians, for coming to terms with them.’

*ὅ τε χειμῶν, inferential *τε*,* ‘and so this winter ended.’

26 *Fifth year of the war. The Peloponnesians dispatch a fleet under Alcidas to the relief of Mytilene, and themselves invade Attica. The severest invasion since the second.*

1 δύο καὶ τεσσαράκοντα. In chapters 16, 25, 29, 69, 76 only 40 ships are mentioned. Thucydides here once for all gives the exact number, and in other places gives the nearest round number.

ἀρχοντα Ἀλκίδαν. All the MSS. read ἔχοντα. It is probably a corruption for ἀρχοντα. ἔχοντα with προστάξαντες would be pleonastic, and in four other places that resemble this we have ἀρχοντα after the aor. part. of προστάσσω.

ὅπως οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι... ἐπιβοηθήσωσιν. The subjunctive is best supported, although some MSS. show the future which is rare with ὅπως but not unsupported. Cf. I. 19. 1 where C reads ὅπως πολιτεύσονται θεραπεύοντες.

Elsewhere in Thucydides where ἐπιβοηθεῖν is constructed with a dative it means ‘to come to the help of.’ Cf. 4. 29. 4 ὁ χρῆν ἀλλήλοις ἐπιβοηθεῖν. Or ‘to attack with.’ Cf. 3. 96. 3 πολλῇ χειρὶ ἐπεβοήθουν. Here only it takes a dative of the person or thing attacked. καταπλεούσαις, ‘as they were sailing in.’ ἥσσον, less than if an attack were not made on Attica.

2 πατρὸς δὲ ἀδελφὸς ἡν. As though the preceding words had been what they involve αὐτὸς μὲν οὐ βασιλεύων.

3 καὶ εἴ τι ἐβεβλαστήκει. If καὶ is genuine it must mean ‘even,’ ‘that is,’ and this is not impossible. Most editors consider it spurious, the insertion of a copyist influenced by the preceding τε. If omitted the sentence runs more smoothly: ‘they ravaged those parts of Attica that had been devastated before, where new crops had grown up, and all the parts that had been spared in the previous invasions.’

4 ἐπιμένοντές τι πεύσεσθαι. Only once again in Thucydides is this verb followed by an infinitive, and in that passage the infinitive is joined with an accusative. Cf. 3. 2. 2 τῶν τε γὰρ λιμένων τὴν χῶσιν καὶ τειχῶν οἰκοδόμησιν... ἐπέμενον τελεσθῆναι. Here it has the construction, as it almost has the meaning of ἐλπίζοντες.

ὡς, ‘believing that.’

ἐπεξῆλθον τὰ πολλὰ τέμνοντες. ἐπεξῆλθον is to be taken with τέμνοντες which governs τὰ πολλά. ‘They vigorously carried out the devastation of the greater part of the country.’

27 *Salæthus makes hoplites of the commons of Mytilene who had previously been light armed. They at once threaten to make terms with the Athenians.*

I οἱ δὲ . . . ἔφασαν παραδώσειν τὴν πόλιν. ‘The Mytilenaean oligarchy had revolted, in spite of the absence of practical wrongs, because it desired an uncontrolled town autonomy, as well as security for its continuance. But this was a feeling to which the people were naturally strangers, having no share in the government of their own town.’—Grote.

2. ὅπλίζει. Turns them into hoplites.

3. τοὺς δυνατούς. The oligarchical governing class.

28 *So the oligarchs are obliged to surrender the town to the Athenians. An embassy is sent to Athens, and meantime the guiltiest of the Mytilenaens are lodged in Tenedos. Paches reduces Antissa.*

I ἀποκωλύειν δυνατοί. The MSS. read ἀποκωλύσειν, which could not stand after a verb of ‘being able.’ The confusion of the present and the future is common in MSS.

κοινῇ. Together with the democratical party.

βουλεῦσαι, ‘decide’ (aorist).

ἐν ὅσῳ δ' ἄν is used with the same double force as ἔως ἂν, viz. ‘while’ and ‘until.’

2. οἱ πράξαντες, ‘those who have intrigued.’

οὐκ ἤνισχοντο. Absolutely ‘could not contain themselves.’

ὅμως. In spite of the convention.

ἀναστήσας. The regular word for raising a suppliant from the altar to grant him protection.

ῶστε, ‘on the condition that.’

μέχρι οὗ . . . δόξῃ. Note the omission of ἂν, which is most frequent in tragic poetry. It is possible that Thucydides consciously affected poetic constructions, as it is obvious that he affected poetic words, to give dignity and colour to his style.

29 *The Peloponnesian fleet arrive too late to help Mytilene.
The captains consult what to do.*

I οὐσ ἔδει . . . παραγενέσθαι. Note the unwillingness of the Peloponnesian ships, unless inspired by a Brasidas, to attack the Athenians on their own element.

πλέοντες . . . ἐνδιέτριψαν καὶ . . . κομισθέντες. A slight anacoluthon.

The two ideas which ought to be connected are found in ἐνδιέτριψαν and κομισθέντες. We should have expected ἐνδιατρίψαντες or ἐκομίσθησαν ὥστε.

τοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. The *ἐκ* signifies that they apprehended an attack from Athens.

πρὶν δὴ . . . ἔσχον, ‘until at last they put in at Delos.’

2 τῇ Μυτιλήνῃ ἔαλωκυίᾳ, ‘since Mytilene was captured.’ The true dative, i.e. the dative of the person or thing concerned. The capture of Mytilene was that *in reference to* which the seven days had elapsed.

ἐκ τῶν παρόντων, ‘to meet the emergency.’

30 Teutiaplus of Elis advises that they should sail straight for Mytilene, and surprise the Athenians by a night attack in the carelessness of success.

1 ὕσπερ ἔχομεν, ‘without loss of time.’

2 κατὰ γὰρ τὸ εἰκὸς . . . εὐρήσομεν. ἀνδρῶν is the genitive depending on τὸ ἀφύλακτον. Translate ‘with men who are but recently in possession of the city we shall find the negligence to be great.’

καὶ πάνυ, ‘especially.’

ἀνέλπιστοι. Usually passive, here active. Cf. 6. 17. 8 καὶ νῦν οὕτε ἀνέλπιστοι πω μᾶλλον Πελοποννήστοι ἐσ ἡμᾶς ἐγένοντο.

ἐπιγενέσθαι. Of an unexpected attack.

ἡ ἀλκή. Is here used in the sense it bears in poetry and in Herodotus, ‘strength,’ ‘prowess.’ Translate ‘and where our strength chiefly lies.’ Cf. 4. 32. 4 τοξεύμασι καὶ ἀκοντίοις καὶ λίθοις καὶ σφενδόναις ἐκ πολλοῦ ἔχοντες ἀλκίν. The speaker means that *on this expedition* the Peloponnesians had greater naval forces than land forces engaged. Others explain, ‘and where we have specially to be on the defensive,’ a meaning which the Greek will hardly bear. One editor conjectures unnecessarily μόδις παροῦσα, ‘and where our force is with difficulty present,’ referring to the slow movement of the Peloponnesian fleet.

ἀμελέστερον ὡς κεκρατηκότων, ‘with the carelessness of men who feel that they are conquerors.’

3 ἐλπίζω . . . καταληφθῆναι ἄν. ἐλπίζω, followed by the present or aorist infinitive with *ἄν*, has the milder sense of ‘suspect.’

4 νομίσαντες . . . πλεῖστ’ ἄν ὄρθοῖτο. The reading of C M is τὸ

κενόν. Other MSS. *τὸ καινόν.* In the question between the two readings the MSS. are not much help since the two words were pronounced alike quite early. If (*a*) we read *τὸ κενόν, τὸ τοιοῦτον* refers to ‘shrinking from danger’ which he describes as ‘groundless panic in war.’ Aristotle speaks of dangers of war which appear terrible but are groundless. Arist. Eth. Nicom. 3. 11. 6 δοκεῖ γὰρ εἶναι πολλὰ κενὰ τοῦ πολέμου ἀ μάλιστα συνεωράκυσιν οὗτοι φάνονται δὴ ἀνδρεῖοι ὅτι οὐκ ἴσασιν οἱ ἄλλοι οἴᾳ ἔστιν. With this reading *οἱ* is governed (1) by *φυλάσσοιτο*, (2) by *ἐνορῶν*, while *ἐπιχειρούν* must be taken absolutely. *ἐν αὐτῷ* is used instead of the ordinary *αὐτός* to balance *τοῖς πολεμίοις*. Translate ‘bethinking ourselves that groundless panic in war is just this, and the general who should be on his guard against this himself and who should make his attack when he observes it in his enemy, would be most likely to succeed.’ If (*b*) we adopt *τὸ καινόν*, ‘a surprise in war,’ *τὸ τοιοῦτον* may refer either to *εἰ προσπέσοιμεν ἄστρῳ*, ‘a sudden attack,’ or to *τὸν κίνδυνον*, ‘dangerous.’ *τὸ καινόν* is the antecedent of *οἱ* which has a double reference. A sudden attack is a thing to guard against and to employ. Translate ‘bethinking ourselves that a surprise in war is always like this; and that the general who should be on his guard against being surprised himself, and who, seeing a chance of surprising his enemy should attempt it, would be most likely to succeed.’ (*c*) The conjecture *τὸ κοινόν* is ‘that which is common or impartial in war,’ the *communis Mars* of Latin. The mistake of negligence is the common element in war. The best sense is given by *τὸ κενόν*.

31 This plan Alcidas rejects, together with the advice of some exiles from Ionia that he should seize some city in Ionia and put the Athenians to the expense and trouble of blockading them.

I ὅπως ἐκ πόλεως . . . γίγνηται. This is a difficult passage complicated by a possible corruption of the text. If the first *ἢν*, the MSS. reading, is sound, *καὶ ἄμα* must mean ‘at the same time also,’ *γίγνηται* belonging to *ὅπως* and being co-ordinated with *ἀποστήσωσιν* by the *καὶ* before *τὴν πρόσοδον*. If *ἢν* is deleted *ἴψελωσι* must be taken with *ὅπως* and *καὶ ἄμα* will mean ‘and at the same time.’ Now what was the proposal? To seize some Ionian town, from which, as a base of operation, the rest of Ionia might be made to revolt, so as to cut off the main source of Athenian revenue, and to

do something else—the nature of which depends on the reading we choose to adopt. Most MSS. show ἦν ἐφορμῶσιν αὐτοῖς δαπάνη σφίσι τγίγνηται. *σφίσι* must refer to the speakers who are Ionians, identifying themselves with the Peloponnesians, and it is they who are the subjects of ἐφορμῶσιν. *δαπάνη* must then be translated, ‘resources for carrying on the war,’ a sense it bears in Herodotus. Cf. Hdt. 5. 30 ὑπίσχεσθαι δῶρα ἐκέλευν καὶ δαπάνην τῇ στρατιῇ, and cf. also Thuc. I. 99. 3 ηὕξετο τὸ ναυτικὸν ἀπὸ τῆς δαπάνης ἦν ἐκεῖνοι ξυμφέροιεν, and 8. 37. 4. Translate ‘and that they might at the same time also, should they attack the Athenian land by sea, have resources for doing so.’ For various reasons this is not very satisfactory, and a better sense can be obtained by adopting the reading of C M ἦν ἐφορμῶσι σφίσιν, αὐτοῖς δαπάνη γίγνηται, which is supported by a scholiast who says, ‘*σφίσιν αὐτοῖς* must not be read together, but separately, with a stop after *σφίσιν*.’ This part of the plan will then fit much better the general proposal. They were to seize a position and *put the Athenians to the expense of blockading them*, an act of which the Athenians, as masters of the sea, would be much more capable than the Peloponnesians. This interpretation is rendered more likely by the concluding words of chapter 33, where Paches is represented as being glad that Alcidas had not taken up his position in some Ionian harbour which, in that case, he would have had to blockade. Translate ‘that making the city a base of operations they might cause Ionia to revolt (and there was hope of doing so, for to none was their coming unwelcome), and that, if they should steal away this the main source of Athenian revenue, the Athenians might at the same time also be put to expense should they blockade them (i.e. the Peloponnesians).’

2 τὸ πλεῖστον τῆς γνώμης εἶχεν. We should say, ‘he inclined most to the plan.’ A similar expression occurs in 4. 34. Ι τοῦ θαρσεῖν τὸ πλεῖστον εἰληφότες.

τῆς Μυτιλήνης ὑστερήκει, ‘he had been too late to help Mytilene.’ We hesitate whether to wonder more at the pusillanimity of this Spartan admiral or his cruelty which is related in a subsequent chapter. All the Ionic towns were unfortified, and he might have occupied any one of them with little trouble or danger. The whole expedition was badly bungled, and the Athenians and their allies were fortunate that Brasidas was not in command.

32 *Alcidas puts his Ionian prisoners to death. The Samians remonstrate.*

2 εἰ ἄνδρας διέφθειρεν. εἰ for ὅτι after the verb of indignation implied in the preceding words.

3 ὥρωντες γὰρ . . . ἔφευγον. These words give the reason why Alcidas had taken so many prisoners.

μή ποτε . . . παραβαλεῖν. μή is due to the negative word of expecting in the principal sentence. So we find μή after ἀνέλπιστον, ἀπιστεῖν, &c.

παραβαλεῖν, intransitive, 'to cross.' So found in Herodotus.

33 *Alcidas is seen by the Athenian state-triremes and hurries away in flight. Paches pursues him but fails to catch him up.*

1 ὥφθη, 'he had been sighted.'

Σαλαμινίας καὶ Παράλου. Two swift triremes always kept ready to perform various public services.

περὶ Κλάρου. Clarus is a well-known place in Ionia. Alcidas might easily have touched there before he arrived at Ephesus, though the fact is not mentioned.

2 ἤλθε. Denotes the first cursory news. ἀφικνεῖτο. The repeated tidings.

εἰ καὶ ὡς, 'if in spite of the fact that Ionia was unfortified.'

ἄμα refers back to παραπλέοντες.

ἔφρασαν of the accurate information given by eyewitnesses.

3 ὡς δ' οὐκέτι . . . ἔφαίνετο. ἔφαίνετο might be impersonal, but it is better to take 'Alcidas' as its subject. οὐκέτι belongs to ἐν καταλήψει. Paches had started too late, 'when it was clear that Alcidas by this time was out of reach.'

ὅτι οὐδαμοῦ . . . παρασχεῖν, 'because nowhere were they caught and compelled to fortify a camp on land, and give the Athenians the trouble of guarding and blockading them.' Cf. 3. 31. 2.

34 *Capture of Notion by Paches. It is organized into a colony with Hellenic privileges.*

1 ἐς Νότιον τὸ Κολοφωνίων. Notion was the port of Colophon, and distant about two miles from the city inland ($\tauῆς$ ἄνω πόλεως). About three years previously Colophon had been the scene of a στάσις, and one of the parties called in Itamenes, a general of the

Persian Satrap Pissuthnes, who ejected the other party. The ejected party settled in Notion, but the Colophonians soon procured a party in Notion and, with the aid of some Arcadian mercenaries in the service of Pissuthnes, obtained possession of the port. Here the Arcadians were established as garrison, and quartered in a separate citadel (*ἐν διατειχίσματι*). The expelled inhabitants now invoked the aid of Paches to expel the Arcadians.

κατόκηντο. The rule in Attic is to use the active of the verb when it relates to human beings. The usage of Thucydides and Herodotus is different. Cf. 1. 120. 2 τὸν δὲ τὴν μεσόγειαν μᾶλλον καὶ μὴ ἐν πόρῳ κατωκημένους.

κατὰ στάσιν *iδίαν*, usually interpreted, ‘by reason of intestine party strife,’ but it is doubtful if *iδίαν* can bear that meaning. *iδία* has been conjectured, ‘called in by reason of party strife by one of the parties?’ This is supported by 3. 2. 3 *iδίᾳ ἄνδρες κατὰ στάσιν μηνυταὶ γίγνονται*.

μάλιστα ὅτε, ‘about when.’ **μάλιστα** expresses the result of the fullest effort to get at the right number, but admits the possibility of a slight error on one side or the other.

2 *ἐν διατειχίσματι εἶχον*, ‘kept them in a part of the city fortified off.’ So Livy says, ‘Vallo urbem ab arce intersaepire.’

καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἀνω . . . ἐπολίτευον. This is a parenthesis which breaks into the construction of the sentence. Those of the Colophonians in the upper city who had called in Itamenes (*οἱ μηδίσαντες*) now joined with those who called in the Arcadians and entered in and shared in their civic rights.

ὑπεξελθόντες. Only here takes an accusative, but cf. 2. 88. 2 *μηδένα ὅχλον ὑποχωρεῖν*, and so we find an accusative after *ὑπεκστῆναι*, *ὑπεκτρέπεσθαι*.

3 *τῶν ἐν τῷ διατειχίσματι Ἀρκάδων.* The MSS. have *τὸν ἐν τῷ*, but the article is not needed for *ἄρχοντα* and is required for *ἐν τῷ διατειχίσματι Ἀρκάδων.* Hence the correction *τῶν*.

ῶστε, ‘on the condition that.’

δ δὲ προκαλεσάμενος . . . δ μὲν ἔξτιλθε. An easy anacoluthon, lying nearer to Greek usage than to ours, from the Greek fondness for paratactic arrangement. The writer no doubt intended *ἔξελθόντα αὐτὸν ἐν φυλακῇ εἰχεν*, but altered his intention.

κατατοξεύει. This grim jest, though not unexampled, was

foreign to Athenian usage and, we will hope, brought Paches into trouble. It is characteristic of Thucydides that here, as in the case of Alcidas, he passes no moral judgement.

- 4 καὶ ὑστερὸν . . . Κολοφωνίων. Grote says that this step of organizing Notion into a colony according to their own laws and customs by sending ‘Oecists’ or organizers, and inviting the return of Colophonian exiles from the neighbouring States, was intended to confer a sort of Hellenic citizenship and recognized collective personality on the new town of Notion, without which its citizens would not have been admitted to the national Hellenic privileges.

35 Paches arrives at Mytilene and sends Salaethus and the most guilty of the Mytilenaeans to Athens.

36 Salaethus is put to death, and the execution of all the Mytilenaeans is decreed. But next day the Athenians repent their decision, and the Mytilenaeans persuade the magistrates to convene another assembly to reopen the question. Character of Cleon.

1 ἔστιν ἀ παρεχόμενον, ‘making various offers.’ Cf. I. 39. 2 τὸ εὐπρεπὲς τῆς δίκης παρέσχοντο.

2 γνώμας ἐποιοῦντο. Usually means ‘proposed.’ Cf. I. 128. 7 γνώμην ποιοῦμαι θυγατέρᾳ τε τὴν σὴν γῆμαι. Here it rather means ‘debated,’ as in I. 139. 3 γνώμας σφίσιν αὐτοῖς προντίθεσαν.

ἐπικαλοῦντες. As though ἐβολεύσαντο instead of ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς had preceded.

τὴν τε ἄλλην ἀπόστασιν . . . παρακινδυνεῦσαι. τὴν τε ἄλλην καὶ must according to the invariable usage of the expression mean ‘reproached them with their revolt on general grounds and specially.’ But where is the special reproach? It must obviously be that they had called in Peloponnesian ships. Thucydides begins as if he intended to write καὶ ὅτι αἱ Πελοποννησίων νῆες ἐτύλμησαν, but when he reaches the special fault he changes the form of the sentence. One editor with no MSS. justification inserts καὶ before ὅτι, which makes the special reproach lie in the words ὅτι οὐκ . . . ἐποιήσαντο. (a) προσξυνελάβοντο, ‘co-operated with,’ is the reading of C G and a correction in B F. It is true the word does not occur again till a late historian, but in 4. 47. 2 we have ξυμβάλλεσθαι with the

same meaning and construction *ξυνελάβοτο δὲ τοῦ τοιούτου οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων*, and the other compounds are found in Herodotus in much the same sense. Hdt. 3. 48 *συνεπιλαμβάνεσθαι στρατεύματος*. Cf. also Thuc. 6. 70. 1 *τοῦτο ξυνεπιλαβέσθαι τοῦ φόβου*. *οὐκ ἐλάχιστον* is adverbial, and *όρμῆς* is the partitive genitive after a verb of touching. Translate ‘reproaching them with their revolt on general grounds because, though governed more easily than the rest, they had revolted; and what most assisted their rage was the Peloponnesian ships daring to risk a voyage to Ionia to bring help to the Mytilenaeans.’ (b) Many MSS. read *προσξυνεβάλετο*, which is explained ‘the fact of the Peloponnesian ships having ventured to sail to Ionia contributed most to their rage.’ We have *ξυμβάλλεσθαι* in the same sense with the same case in Eur. Med. 284 *ξυμβάλλεται δὲ πολλὰ τοῦδε δείματος*, but this compound does not occur again, and the singular verb with the plural subject is not paralleled by 4. 26. 5 and 8. 9. 3, where the number of the verb has been attracted to the number of the predicate. (c) There seems to be some authority for *προσξυνεβάλοντο*. *οὐκ ἐλάχιστον* might then be the direct object of the verb. Cf. Arist. Ath. Polit. c. 19 *συνεβάλλετο δὲ οὐκ ἐλάττω μοῖραν τῆς ὄρμῆς τοῖς Λάκωσιν ἦ . . . ὑπάρχονσα φιλία*.

παρακινδυνεῦσαι ἐς Ἰωνίαν. Cf. 7. 47. 3 *ἐς τὰς Ἐπιπολὰς διακινδυνεῦσαι*, ‘to risk an assault on.’

οὐ γάρ ἐπὸ βραχεῖας διανοίας, ‘with great aims.’

4 *καὶ ἀναλογυσμὸς . . . ἐγνῶσθαι*, ‘and they began to reflect that the resolution they had passed was cruel and excessive.’ No doubt, as Grote observes, their wrath had been partly assuaged by the mere passing of the decree, quite apart from its execution. The resolution to put the inhabitants of Mytilene to death, was in accordance with the war practice of the time. The Lacedaemonians soon after this slaughter the Plataeans to a man.

μᾶλλον ἢ οὐ τοὺς αἰτίους. It has been shown that in comparative sentences a negative is always implied, e.g. virtue is better than riches= virtue is better and not riches. In Greek this implied negative is sometimes inserted. Cf. 2. 62. 3 *μᾶλλον ἢ οὐ κηπίον*.

5 *παρεσκεύασαν*, ‘induced.’ *τοὺς ἐν τέλει*, ‘the Prytaneis.’

γνώμας προθεῖναι, ‘to bring forward the matter for discussion.’

τινάς. No more in sense than *τινά*, but the number is no doubt

influenced by the number of τοὺς ἐν τέλει, ‘that they should be given the chance of reconsidering their decree.’

- 6 ἀφ' ἔκαστων, ‘opinions proceeding from each.’

Κλέων δὲ Κλεανέτου. Although Thucydides hardly ever passes judgement on individuals, he makes an exception in the case of Cleon, and that he is biased against him is obvious. He ridicules his offer to capture Sphacteria, and relates in a later book how it was his interest to keep up the war, because war saved his crimes from detection and made his libels more easily believed. But what other accounts of Cleon we possess agree with Thucydides. Cf. Arist. Ath. Polit. 28 δοκεῖ μάλιστα διαφθείραι τὸν δῆμον ταῖς ὄρμαις καὶ πρώτος ἐπὶ τοῦ βίματος ἀνέκραγε καὶ ἐλοιδορήσατο καὶ περιζωσάμενος ἐδημηγόρησε τῶν ἀλλων ἐν κόσμῳ λεγόντων.

ὅσπερ καὶ . . . ἐνενικήκει. With προτέραν we must supply γνώμην from ἀλλαι γνῶμαι above, but with a slight change of meaning, for here the word no longer means ‘opinion’ but ‘decision.’ For the construction cf. Plato, Gorgias 456 οἱ νικῶντες τὰς γνώμας, and see note on τὴν ὁδόν, 3. 24. I.

- 37 Cleon denounces the unwise tenderness and scruples of the people, which refused to recognize the despotic nature of their rule over the allies. Their allegiance depended upon force not upon goodwill. Nothing could be more mischievous than to rescind public resolutions; for even bad laws steadily enforced are better than good laws whose application is uncertain. So intellectual inferiority is more conducive to good government than brilliant ability, which is always, as in Athens, striving after a victory in debate, and sacrifices public interests to private ambition.

- 2 διὰ γὰρ . . . ἀλλήλους . . . ἔχετε, ‘for on account of the security and freedom from mutual intrigues that marks your daily life you behave with the same openness to your allies too.’

ὅτι ἀν . . . οἴκτῳ ἐνδῶτε, ‘whatever concessions you make to pity.’

οὐκ ἐπικινδύνως . . . μαλακίζεσθαι. ἐσ τὴν . . . χάριν expresses the result of the action of the verb. οὐκ must be taken with ἡγεῖσθε. Translate ‘you do not consider that your act of weakness is dangerous to yourselves and does not result in the gratitude of your allies.’

οἱ οὐκ ἔξ ὄν, κ.τ.λ. The MSS. read no *οἰ*—the *οὐ* clause gives a lively illustration of the words *ἄκοντας ἀρχομένους*. The asyndeton is unusual, and is not paralleled by 3. 63. 2 where the harshness is alleviated by *γε*. *Οἰ*, which is inserted in the text, is found (as a correction) in one MS. More plausible is *οὐδ'* for *οὐκ*. Translate ‘they yield you obedience not for any favour which to your own detriment you do them, but for the superiority you have won rather by force than by their good-will.’ *ἔξ ὄν = ἐκ τούτων ᾧ*. *ᾧ* would be the internal accusative with *περιγένησθε*.

3 πάντων δὲ . . . πέρι, ‘but it will be worst of all if none of our formal resolutions is to stand firm.’ The argument is disingenuous. Cleon confounds laws and resolutions. It was only a resolution that was here in question.

ἀκινήτοις, ‘if they are steadily applied.’ *ἀκύροις*, ‘if they are not binding.’

μετὰ σωφροσύνης. *σωφροσύνη*, ‘political moderation’ which, in Thucydides, is usually attributed to an oligarchical government. It is a strange word in the mouth of a demagogue. Translate ‘dulness attended by respect for law is more useful than ability joined with licence.’

οἵ τε φαυλότεροι, refers to intellectual inferiority, ‘the simple.’

πρὸς τούς, ‘as compared with the.’

ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλέον, ‘as a general rule.’ The ordinary expression is *ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολύ*. This variation of it is found nowhere else.

4 *τῶν τε αἰεὶ . . . περιγίγνεσθαι*. *ἐσ τὸ κοινόν* might mean ‘for the public good,’ or merely ‘in public debate,’ i. e. things said in presence of the public assembly. Cf. Eur. Hec. 303 *ἄ δ' εἴπον εἰς ἄπαντας οὐκ ἀρνήσομαι*. The latter gives the simpler sense. Translate ‘and ever wish to carry the victory in public debate.’

ὡς ἐν ἄλλοις . . . τὴν γνώμην, ‘under the belief that they could not show their wisdom in a better field.’

τὰ πολλά, ‘for the most part.’

τῇ ἔξ αὐτῶν ξυνέσει, ‘the acuteness that has its origin in themselves.’

ἀμαθέστεροι μὲν . . . εἶναι, ‘admit that the laws are wiser than they.’ Cleon is recalling, almost verbally, the praise of the Spartans put into the mouth of Archidamos, 1. 84. 3 *ἀμαθέστερον τῶν νόμων τῆς ὑπεροψίας παιδεύσμενοι*.

ἀδυνατώτεροι . . . μέμψασθαι. A different phrase from *ἀδυνατώτεροι*

ἢ ὡστε μέμψασθαι. This phrase means ‘less capable (than others) for criticizing the arguments of a good speaker.’ For the infinitive cf. note on 3. 2. 2.

κριταὶ δὲ . . . τὰ πλεῖον. ἀγωνισταὶ, partakers in the debate, ‘disputants.’ ὄρθονται τὰ πλεῖον contrasts with σφύλλονται τὰς πόλεις, ‘and being impartial judges rather than disputants they are usually successful.’

5 ὡς so used for *οὕτως* is rare in Attic prose and only occurs here in Thucydides.

δεινότητι . . . ἐπαιρομένοις, ‘excited by rhetorical skill and a combat of wit.’

παρὰ δόξαν, usually ‘contrary to expectation.’ Here ‘contrary to our real opinion.’

38 *My opinion, he said, is what it was, and the orators who wish to revive the whole question of the Mytilenaeans must either be maintaining a paradox to display their talents or be bribed to delude you. It is your own folly which gives these speakers their opportunity. Your passion for novelty and sympathy with rhetorical display tempt them to gratify your craving for intellectual excitement rather than to propose to you sound sense in simple language.*

I Θαυμάζω μὲν . . . λέγειν. The full construction here would be θαυμάζω τῶν προθέντων ἢ προύθεστα, i. e. the accusative of the thing and the genitive of the person, which stands as a possessive genitive to the accusative of the thing. τῶν προθέντων, sc. γνώμας, as in I. 139. 3 γνώμας σφίσιν αὐτοῖς προντίθεστα. λέγειν is the epexegetic infinitive.

ἢ ἔστι πρός, ‘a thing which is in the interests of’: literally in the direction of, on the side of. μᾶλλον, ‘more than in our interests.’

ἀμύνεσθαι δὲ . . . ἀναλαμβάνει. (a) As the words stand in the MSS. ἀμύνεσθαι must be taken as the subject of the sentence, and we must translate ‘but punishment when it lies as near as possible to the injury best exacts the proper penalty because it is equivalent to the injury.’ (b) A better sense can be obtained by omitting ὅν, which may have been caused by dittography. ἀντίπαλον will then agree with τιμωρίαν, and ὅτι ἐγγυτάτω κείμενον and μάλιστα ἀντίπαλον stand in what is called ‘reciprocal proportion.’ Moreover the second half of the sentence will thus correspond better with the first half.

Translate 'the sufferer advances against the doer with his anger blunted; but when punishment lies as near as possible to the injury, the penalty it exacts is in the highest degree equivalent to the offence'; i.e. the closer the punishment is to the offence, the more equivalent to the wrong is the penalty it exacts. $\tau\ddot{\omega}$ παθεῖν is the dative after the whole expression $\sigma\tau\iota$ ἐγγυτάτω κείμενον. Ἐγγί's alone governs the genitive. Thucydides might say ἀμύνεσθαι τιμωρίαν ἀναλαμβάνει, 'vengeance exacts punishment,' although we expect $\tau\ddot{o}$ ἀμύνεσθαι, and it would appear that Plutarch who quotes this passage twice read $\tau\ddot{o}$ ἀμύνασθαι. The absence of the article is perhaps paralleled by 2. 54. 3 ἐνίκησε δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος λοιμὸν εἰρῆσθαι where εἰρῆσθαι is probably the subject.

(c) One editor proposes to take κείμενον as an accusative absolute, 'if it is proposed or offered to take vengeance,' and conjectures τοῦ παθεῖν. He makes ὁ παθών the subject of ἀναλαμβάνει, and if other examples of κείμενον so used could be adduced this would be a plausible suggestion. The only instance where κεῖται is so joined with an infinitive is in Dem. 23. 85 νόμον ὃς κεῖται τὸν φεύγοντα δέχεσθαι.

Θαυμάζω δὲ καί. Whoever argues against inflicting condign punishment on the Mytilenaeans must prove a paradox, viz. that the injuries we have received from the Mytilenaeans are to our advantage, and that our misfortunes are hurtful to our allies. The converse of this is true, therefore punish the Mytilenaeans. This argument was sound enough up to a certain point—to the punishment of rebels, but it did not justify their annihilation.

2 καὶ δῆλον στι. Cleon endeavours to intimidate his opponents in debate. Whoever attempts to argue thus, he says, either desires to display his own rhetorical dexterity by proving that black is white, or has been bribed to mislead you by an elaborate display of eloquence. He distinguishes his opponents as they are actuated either by a vainglorious desire of rhetorical display or by the hope of winning a bribe. The weapon of both classes is the same, $\tau\ddot{o}$ λέγειν, which is repeated by $\tau\ddot{o}$ εὐπρεπὲς τοῦ λόγου in more special terms.

$\tau\ddot{o}$ πάνυ δοκοῦν, 'the deep-seated belief,' i.e. the converse of the paradox stated in the preceding sentence. ἀνταποφῆναι, 'to show on the other side.'

ως οὐκ ἔγνωσται is usually taken ‘that it does not rest on right judgement’: but why should the words mean more than ‘that it is not the general opinion,’ ‘has never been approved’?

ἀγωνίσαιτ’ ἄν, ‘would display his powers.’

τὸ εὐπρεπὲς . . . ἐκπονήσας, ‘elaborating the plausible side of his argument’; i. e. elaborately making the best of a bad cause.

4 κακῶς ἀγωνοθετοῦντες. ‘By evilly instituting these contests.’

οἵτινες . . . τῶν ἔργων. ‘Seeing that you are accustomed to be spectators of debates (only) but to take your facts on hearsay.’ Your interest is in the performance of the speakers.

τὰ μὲν μέλλοντα ἔργα . . . γίγνεσθαι. It is more natural to take *ώς δυνατὰ γίγνεσθαι* with *σκοποῦντες* than after *εἰπόντων*, ‘estimating the possibility of future events by the prophecies of brilliant speakers.’

τὰ δὲ πεπραγμένα . . . ἐπιτιμησάντων. τὰ πεπραγμένα is governed by *σκοποῖντες*. The other accusatives depend upon *λαβόντες*, which is used here in the sense of *ἱπολαβόντες*: cf. 2. 42. 4 τὴν δὲ τῶν ἐναντίων τιμωρίαν ποθειστέραν αὐτῶν λαβόντες. ‘But accomplished facts—counting not what has been done more sure because your eyes have seen it than what you have heard—you judge in accordance with the speeches of clever critics.’ To complete the sentence logically we should expect *ἀκροάσει* after *ἀκοισθέν*.

5 καὶ μετὰ κανότητος. *μετά* of the cause, a meaning easily deducible from its proper sense ‘in company with.’

ἀπατᾶσθαι ἄριστοι. *ἄριστοι* is ironical. For the meaning cf. Hdt. 3. 80. 3 ἀνὴρ τύραννος διαβολὰς ἄριστος ἐνδέκεσθαι. For the infinitive cf. note on 3. 37. 4. Translate ‘no men are finer at being deceived by a new-coined phrase.’

μετὰ δεδοκιμασμένου δὲ . . . ἔθίλειν, ‘but at refusing assent to what is generally approved.’ Cf. above τὸ πάνυ δοκοῦν.

δοῦλοι . . . ἀτόπων, ‘the slaves of each new paradox.’

6 μάλιστα μέν, ‘if possible.’

ἀνταγωνιζόμενοι . . . τῇ γνώμῃ. *τοῖς τοιαῦτα λέγοντι* stands rather loosely for speakers of *ἄτοπα καὶ κανά*. *τῇ γνώμῃ* is governed by *ἀκολούθησαι*, and refers to ‘the meaning of the speakers.’ The rivalry is displayed by understanding and praising the speaker’s words almost before they are uttered. Translate ‘engaging in eager rivalry with such speakers not to appear backward to follow their meaning.’

προεπανίσται depends either on δοκεῖν or directly on ἀνταγωνιζόμενοι, ‘to praise almost before it is uttered.’ δξέως with λέγοντος.

καὶ προαισθέσθαι . . . ἀποβησόμενα. πράθυμοι εἶναι depend on δοκεῖν or on ἀνταγωνιζόμενοι, ‘and to be eager to apprehend what is said before it is out, but slow to foresee its practical consequences.’ The sense would be better without εἶναι.

- 7 ζητοῦντες τε . . . ξῶμεν, ‘and ever hankering after something better than the world we live in.’ ως εἰπεῖν apologizes for too harsh an expression. Plato and Demosthenes use ως ἔπος εἰπεῖν.

ἀπλῶς, ‘in a word.’

σοφιστῶν θεατᾶς . . . καθημένοις, ‘like spectators sitting to hear a display of sophists.’ It was at the close of this summer that the sophist Gorgias came to Athens.

- 39 *The Mytilenaeans revolted without provocation, and after receiving only kindness from Athens. Their own prosperity and Athenian indulgence intoxicated them and drove them to the wildest schemes. Nobles and commons are equally guilty, and if they go unpunished, it will encourage others of our allies to revolt if they see the risk is little and the possible gain is great. You have everything to lose by such revolts.*

1 μάλιστα δὴ μίαν πόλιν. εἰς is often so used to strengthen a superlative. ‘That the Mytilenaeans have injured you more than did ever any one city.’

2 οἵτινες μὲν μή describes a general class, so the negative is μή. The third οἵτινες refers plainly to the Mytilenaeans, so the negative is οὐ.

ἐν φ καί, ‘while even on this element.’ αὐτοί, ‘unaided.’

τί ἄλλο . . . ἦ . . . ἐπανέστησαν. τί ἄλλο ἦ ἐπεβούλευσαν is an elliptical expression for τί ἄλλο ἐποίησαν ἦ ἐπεβούλευσαν. ἐπανέστησαν, ‘rebelled against you.’ Cf. I. 115. 5 καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τῷ δῆμῳ ἐπανέστησαν.

ἀπόστασις . . . ἔστιν. μέν γε throws a strong emphasis on ἀπόστασις. The δέ clause can easily be supplied in thought. ‘A revolt (whatever an ἐπανάστασις may imply) implies tyrannical oppression.’ These were rebels, not seceders.

ἵμᾶς. For position cf. note on 3. 10. 5.
 καίτοι, here ‘and indeed.’

ἢ εἰ . . . ἀντεπολίμησαν, ‘than if they had made war upon us by themselves alone *in the effort to win power.*’

- 3 παράδειγμα δὲ αὐτοῖς . . . παρέσχεν. Notice the change of intention which breaks the original form of the sentence and introduces an anacoluthon.

καὶ ἐλπίσαντες. Note the tense, ‘and having formed hopes beneath their wishes if above their power.’

- 4 εἴωθε δὲ . . . ἔλθῃ. The subject of εἴωθε is εὐπραγία. The relative sentence must mean ‘to whom in the greatest degree and with the briefest notice unexpected prosperity comes.’ The scholiast explains δι’ ἐλαχίστου, ἔξαιφνης. *aīs* for ταύτας *aīs*.

τὰ δὲ πολλὰ . . . παρὰ δόξαν. The scholiast explained τὰ πολλά as an adverbial accusative ‘for the most part.’ If that is so, κατὰ λόγον εὐτυχοῦντα must be equivalent to τὰ κατὰ λόγον εὐτυχοῦντα. But τὰ πολλά is no doubt a nominative, although we must translate ‘as a rule ordinary good fortune is safer for men than unexpected good fortune.’

- 5 διαφερόντως. The best MSS. read διαφέροντας which must be taken predicatively; ‘ought to have been honoured by us so as not to differ from the others.’ M has διαφερόντως which is more in accordance with Thucydidean usage.

καὶ οὐκ ἄν, ‘and then they would not have.’

καὶ ἄλλως. ἄλλως = *aliоqui* and so *omnino*, ‘it is the prevailing characteristic of mankind.’

- 6 κολασθήτωσαν is the MSS. reading, but inscriptions show that this form belongs to the Macedonian period. It has rightly been replaced by κολασθέντων.

ὑμῖν γε. Whatever their internal dissensions they at least united in attacking *you.*

οἵς γ' ἔχην. οἵς γε (*quippe quibus*) grammatically has for its antecedent πάντες, but the writer is really thinking only of the democratical party who are also the subject of ξυναπέστησαν exclusively. ‘Who, if they had turned to us, might now have been restored to their rights as citizens.’

- 7 ἀναγκασθεῖσιν must be taken predicatively with ἀποστᾶσι, ‘who revolted under compulsion.’

τίνα οἴεσθε ὄντινα οὐ. *τίνα ὄντινα οὐ* really forms a single expression. It is attracted for *τίς ἔστιν ὄντινα οὐκ οἴεσθε.* *οἴεσθε* resumes *σκέψασθε.*

- 8 *ἴμην . . . ἀποκεκινδυνεύστεται.* The future perfect is really a perfect transferred to the future. It denotes here that at a future time something will be found to have been done; ‘we shall find that we have risked.’

τυχόντες, ‘if we succeed.’

τῆς ἔπειτα προσόδου . . . τὸ λοιπὸν στερήσεσθε, ‘of the revenues which it would supply in the future—the revenues to which we owe our strength—you will for the future be deprived.’ The phrase is pleonastic and also inexact, for the antecedent of the relative clause *δὶ ἦν ἴσχύομεν* is *τῆς προσόδου* not *τῆς ἔπειτα προσόδου*. But there are no sufficient grounds for the correction *ἐπετείου*.

πολεμίους. Understand *αὐτούς* from *πόλιν*, ‘we shall have them as enemies.’

- 40 These men must receive no compassion, nor must you listen to the ingenious arguments of those who have been bribed to defend them. Expediency and justice alike call for their punishment. To acquit them is to condemn your own rule. If they had been victorious they would have had no compassion for you. Let the allies be taught a memorable lesson of the consequence of revolting.

- I *οὐκουν δεῖ . . . λήψονται.* These words refer to c. 38. 2, where it is said that the opponents of the massacre will either rely on their power of speech to prove a paradox, or will be bribed (*ἢ τῷ λέγειν πιστεύσας . . . ἢ κέρδει ἐπαιρίμενος*). Cleon retorts—‘we must not hold out a hope warranted (made *πιστή*) by eloquence or that is to be purchased by bribes.’ Cleon no doubt uses *πιστήν* in recollection of his former words, though another word would have given a clearer meaning. Others take *πιστήν* actively, ‘a hope trusting in eloquence.’ Cf. 1. 68. 1 *τὸ πιστὸν . . . τῆς καθ' ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς πολιτείας*, and Soph. O. C. 1031 *ἀλλ' ἔσθ' ὅτῳ σὺ πιστὸς ὡν ἔδρας τάδε.* But the meaning is not so clear. Others take *πιστήν* as equivalent to *πειστήν*, ‘to be won by persuading,’ imagining it to take the place of a verbal adjective form which the Greeks did not use. *ποριστήν* has also been conjectured. With *ῶντήν* the proper substantive is obviously not the hope but the safety hoped for, but Thucydides

has been influenced both by a desire to recall Cleon's former words and by the temptation of making his sentence symmetrical in sound and structure. For *προθεῖναι*, which gives the best sense, the best MSS. read *προσθεῖναι*, 'add.'

ὡς ξυγγνώμην . . . λήφονται. This is usually explained 'that they will find an excuse in the fact that they have sinned as man will sin.' *ἀμαρτεῖν* being the accusative in apposition to *ξυγγνώμην*. But the infinitive *ἀμαρτεῖν* follows *ξυγγνώμην λήψονται*, an expression equivalent to a single verb, 'will be pardoned for sinning.' The construction is a natural extension of such expressions as *ξύγγνωμάν ἐστι ποιεῖν*.

ξύγγνωμον, 'pardonable,' an unusual meaning.

- 2 *καὶ τότε πρῶτον.* Understand *διεμιχεσάμην*. *μὴ μεταγρῶνται* obviously cannot be supplied with this verb. *μὴ ἀμαρτάνειν* would be more appropriate.

τρισί. The instrumental dative. It marks the motive of the error.
ἐπιεικέᾳ, 'long-suffering.'

- 3 *ἔλεός τε.* The speaker proceeds to deal with the three motives which are so destructive to empire. But he employs new words.

πρὸς τοὺς ὄμοιούς. To those who are situated as we are, not to subjects who must always be our foes.

ἔξουσι καὶ . . . ἀγῶνα, 'will find a field for their talents in other less important issues.'

μή. He uses the negative of prohibition under the influence of the prohibition which is implied in the sentence.

αὐτοὶ δὲ . . . ἀντιλήφονται, 'while they themselves will get "for a good speech a good fee"' (Jowett), i. e. they would be rewarded by the Mytilenaeans.

ἐπιτηδείους, 'friendly,' i. e. faithful allies.

πρὸς τοὺς ὄμοιούς . . . ὑπολειπομένους. *ὄμοιούς*, the reading of the MSS., could only mean 'what they were before,' which is then explained by *καὶ οὐδὲν ἡσπον πολεμίους*. A tempting conjecture is *ὄμοιώς*. The pleonasm would be very Thucydidean.

- 4 *δικαιώσεσθε* here used in the Herodotean sense 'condemn,' 'punish.' This use of the word is occasioned by the preceding *τὰ δίκαια ποιήσετε*.

ὑμεῖς ἀν . . . ἄρχοιτε. After the positive protasis we should naturally expect a positive apodosis. And in fact the optat. with *ἄν* is constantly equivalent to an indicative of some kind. Here *ὑμεῖς*

ἄν οὐ χρεῶν ἄρχοιτε is equivalent to *οὐκ ἄρα χρὴ ὑμᾶς ἄρχειν*. ‘You must be wrong in holding empire.’ The indicative sentence is suggested by *χρεών*. Cf. i. 38. 4 and Forbes’ note.

χρεών. Accusative absolute.

εἰ καὶ οὐ προσῆκον, ‘if rightly or wrongly,’ identical in meaning with *παρὰ τὸ εἴκός*. *οὐ* not *μή* because *οὐ προσῆκον* form one word.

τοῦτο δρᾶν, ‘to maintain your rule.’

παρὰ τὸ εἴκός . . . κολάξεσθαι, ‘then rightly or wrongly these too must be punished for your benefit.’ This isolated *τοι* only occurs in two other passages in Thucydides in 2. 41. 4 and 7. 77. 2. It always introduces some emphatic asseveration.

ἐκ τοῦ ἀκινδύνου ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι. *ἐκ τοῦ ἀκινδύνου* is an adverbial expression like *ἐκ τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς*, *ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος*, ‘practise virtue without danger.’

5 *τῇ τε αὔτῃ ζημίᾳ*. *τε* ‘and so.’ *τῇ αὔτῃ*, ‘with the punishment decreed yesterday.’ Others ‘with the punishment they would have inflicted upon you.’ Cf. *τοῖς ὁμοίοις ἀμύνεσθαι*.

μὴ ἀναλγητότεροι, ‘no less sensitive,’ i.e. just as ready to resent injury.
οἱ διαφεύγοντες, ‘you who are securing your escape from them.’

6 *μάλιστα δὲ οἱ . . . διολλύναι*. This sentence illustrates *προϋπάρχαντας ἀδικίας*. Translate ‘those who with no reasonable grounds injure others, pursue their vengeance even to the utter destruction of their enemy.’ Cf. Tac. Agric. 42 ‘proprium humani ingenii est odisse quem laeseris.’ For the infinitive cf. 3. 2, 2. note on *τελεσθῆναι*. The MSS. read *διόλλυνται* which has been explained (1) pursue their vengeance to their own destruction; (2) as a middle verb with an active meaning; (3) taking it with *ὑφοράμενοι*, ‘cannot live suspecting.’ All are equally improbable.

ὅ γάρ μὴ . . . ἔχθροῦ. Compression has made this sentence a little obscure. But if we consider the context it is probable that Thucydides has in mind the difference between a sovereign state which has been assailed on no just grounds (*μὴ ξὺν ἀνάγκῃ τι παθών*), such as great tyranny would afford, and one that stands on an ordinary footing of equality. Translate ‘for he who is wronged without cause is more dangerous, if he escapes, than the enemy who stands upon equal terms.’ Others take it more simply, ‘he who is injured without cause is more dangerous, if he escapes, than the enemy who has only suffered what he has inflicted.’

7 γενέμενοι δ'... τοῦ πάσχειν. Literally 'having got in imagination as near as possible to suffering,' i. e. letting your imaginations carry you as near as possible to the moment of suffering the injury. Cf. I. 143. 5 καὶ νῦν χρὴ ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τούτου διανοηθέντας.

καὶ ὡς, 'and (imagining) how.'

ἀν ἔτιμήσασθε. 'You would have valued.'

ἀνταπόδοτε. Absolutely, 'take vengeance.'

αὐτίκα. Stands in sharp opposition to τοῦ ἐπικρεμασθέντος ποτὲ δεινοῦ. We should expect πρὸς τὸ αὐτίκα παρόν, but cf. τὸ παθεῖν εὖ. Some take it with μαλακισθέντες. Others with ἀνταπόδοτε.

τούτους τε. The trajected *τε* marks a change of intention on the writer's part. He varies the construction in the second half of the sentence.

ξημιωσόμενον. The participle after an expression (*σαφὲς καταστήσατε*) practically equivalent to *ἀποδείξατε*. Cf. 3. 67. 6 ποιήσατε παράδειγμα οὐ λόγων τοὺς ἀγῶνας προθήσοντες ἀλλ' ἔργων.

τόδε γάρ. Thucydides and Herodotus do not follow the Attic prose writers in their use of *ὅδε*, *τοιώσδε*, *τοσύσδε*. Here, e. g., *τόδε* refers to the past.

It is Cleon's rôle to pose as the champion of the established order against those who would endeavour to rescind the formal resolutions of the state, whom he describes in language that may often have been applied to himself and to politicians of his class. Grote notices that he had the advantage of addressing himself to the prevalent sentiment of the moment, so that it was easy for him to represent his opponents as clever sophists, opposed to downright common sense (the sentiment of the moment), who showed their talents in making the worse appear the better cause.

42 Diodotus approves the re-opening of the question. Passion and precipitancy are the chief foes of good counsel, and no one but a simpleton or an interested party would object to debate which throws light on the unseen future. The imputation of dishonest motives stifles the expression of opinion, and the state is the loser. Success or failure in speaking should not carry reward or punishment. Thus all would speak their real minds without hope or fear.

I τοὺς μεμφομένους μή, 'those who warn us reproachfully not to.'

γίγνεσθαι, ‘to show itself.’

ἀπαιδευσίας, ‘ill-breeding.’

2 ἢ ίδια . . . διαφέρει, ‘or he has some personal interest.’

τι αἰσχρὸν πεῖσαι, ‘to carry some disgraceful resolution.’

3 χαλεπώτατοι δὲ . . . ἐπίδειξιν τινα. Most of the MSS. read προσκατηγοροῦντες, which gives the rather weak sense ‘who make a further charge.’ Probably the right reading is preserved by C προκατηγοροῦντες, ‘who before the adversary has spoken bring a charge.’ He refers to Cleon’s remarks in c. 38. ἐπὶ χρήμασιν belongs to ἐπίδειξιν. Translate ‘far the most formidable are those others (*kai*) who, before their adversary has spoken, bring a charge that he will make a display of eloquence for money.’

ἀπεχώρει. From the debate.

τε, ‘and so.’

4 πεισθεῖεν ἄν. The subject is *oī πολῖται*, the change to the plural being due to the intervention of *τῶν πολιτῶν*.

ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵσου, ‘in fair debate.’

5 τὴν δὲ σώφρονα πόλιν . . . ἀτιμάζειν. ἀλλὰ μηδέ in the first case = ‘but neither’; in the second, ‘but not even.’ τε . . . καὶ = ‘as’ . . . ‘so.’ The object of ἐλασσοῦντι is *τὸν εὖ βουλεύοντα*. Note the phrase τυχεῖν γνώμης, ‘to carry one’s opinion.’ It occurs in the late historians. Translate ‘and for the wisely ordered state, as it should not bestow fresh honour on him who gives it most good counsel (but neither should it detract from the honour which is his already), so it should not only visit with no penalty but it should not even discredit the man who has not been fortunate with his advice.’

6 ὁ κατορθῶν, ‘he whose advice prevails.’

παρὰ γνώμην, ‘contrary to his real opinion.’

πρὸς χάριν, ‘to please.’

ὅ τε μὴ ἐπιτυχῶν . . . τὸ πλῆθος. With ὑρέγοιτο supply ‘*ῆκιστ*’ ἄν. χαριζόμενός τι καὶ αὐτός, which must be taken close together, describe τῷ αὐτῷ more fully. Translate ‘while he who fails would be least desirous to conciliate the multitude by the same means, i.e. by himself too seeking to gratify it in some respect.’

43 As things are, good and bad advisers alike are compelled to resort to deceit, and it is impossible to serve the country frankly and openly. The fact is that you are far too clever. If you punish the man who gives bad advice, you should also punish yourselves for following it. Then your judgements would be more moderate.

- I κέρδους μὲν . . . λέγειν, ‘to give good advice though prompted by hope of gain.’

φθονήσαντες . . . κερδῶν. The expression φθονεῖν κέρδους is usual, and of this our phrase is an intelligible extension. It is really equivalent to φθονήσαντες τῶν κερδῶν οὐ βεβαίως δοξάντων, ‘being seized with jealousy for the unsubstantiated suspicion of corruption.’

- 2 καθίστηκε δὲ τάγαθά, ‘and the result is that good advice.’

ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐθέος, ‘in a straightforward manner.’

ψευσάμενον πιστὸν γενέσθαι, ‘to win credit by falsehood.’ Note the oxymoron.

- 3 μόνην τε πόλιν, ‘and so a state only,’ as opposed to an individual.

διὰ τὰς περινοίας. περινοία is not found elsewhere in classical Greek. It means an ‘excess of acuteness’ that is not satisfied with a plain comprehension of a thing. The plural indicates the constant occurrence of the quality. The word is formed on the analogy of περιονσία, περιεργία, περιτέχνησις. In Aristoph. *Frogs* 958, we have ἀπαντα περινοεῖν.

ἀνθυποπτεύεται, ‘is suspected for his pains;’ literally, ‘in requital,’ a rare word.

πῃ, ‘in some way.’

- 4 καὶ ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε ἀξιοῦν τι. Such is the reading of A F B M, and it is obviously the right reading. With ἀξιοῦν the subject is ὑμᾶς. καὶ ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε = ‘even under such circumstances,’ i.e. although such is your custom. Some MSS. have ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε ἀξιοῦντι, which some editors adopt comparing such expressions as ἐν τῷ μὴ μελετῶντι, ‘in the want of practice.’ But we never find the participle as here qualified by an adjective (*τοιῷδε*).

πρὸς τὰ μέγιστα, ‘in dealing with the highest interests.’

τῶν δι’ ὀλίγου σκοπούντων, ‘whose view is circumscribed.’ Cf. 7. 71 δι’ ὀλίγου γὰρ οὕσης τῆς θέας. τι might be taken with περαιτέρω or προνοοῦντας.

ἀλλως τε καὶ . . . ἀκρόασιν. πρός, ‘compared with.’ ἀνεύθυνον for ἀνυπεύθυνον, so found in Herodotus. ἀκρόασιν, the following of advice. ‘Especially as we stand accountable for the advice we give, but you are not accountable for the heed you pay it.’

5 δὲ πείσας, ‘he who carries a proposal.’

νῦν δέ, ‘but as it is.’

πρὸς ὄργὴν . . . τύχητε. With τύχητε understand ζημιοῦντες, and with ἥντινα repeat πρός. ‘Under the influence of the passion under which you happen to be punishing.’ The omission of ἀν is an epic construction fairly common in tragedy. Cf. 4. 17. 2 οὐ μὲν βραχεῖς ἀρκῶσι.

ἔστιν ὅτε with ζημιοῦντες.

εἰ ξυνεξήμαρτον. Expresses a real case in a hypothetical form. Translate ‘as it is there are times when, in failure, under the influence of the passion that takes you, you punish the single voice of him who convinced you, and not your own votes, that, being many, they erred with him.’

44 I am not concerned with the justice of the case. I do not know how to draw up an indictment against a nation. I am on the ground of expediency, and the question is—how can we turn the Mytilenaeans to account? Cleon says that if you put them to death it will stop revolt among your allies.

I εἰ σωφρονοῦμεν, ‘if we are sensible people.’

2 ἢν τε καὶ ἔχοντάς . . . φαίνοντο. The MSS. read ἢν τε καὶ ἔχοντες . . . εἰεν, which involves the anomaly of ἢν with the optative. Most editors correct to ἔχοντας and supply ἀποφήνω with ἢν, ‘and if I show them to be in any way worthy of pardon.’ What then is εἰεν? Some suppose it to mark an aposiopesis, a conclusion too harsh to be uttered, such as ‘may that pardon not be granted, if it should not appear good for the city.’ Others write εὖν, which is perhaps the most plausible correction, repeating οὐ κελεύσω, ‘nor, if I show they are in some way worthy of pardon, shall I bid you spare them if it should not appear good for the city.’ Others, εὖν οἴκειν from chapter 48. 1.

3 καὶ τοῦτο δὲ μάλιστα . . . γιγνώσκω. This sentence as it stands is not grammatical, as τοῦτο is left ungoverned. For (1) it cannot be

governed by ἀντισχυριζόμενος, which means ‘asserting this in opposition’ (not ‘contesting this point’); (2) τοῦτο ὅ cannot be equivalent to ‘quod ad id attinet quod,’ as there is no authority for such a construction. It is probable that Thucydides started with the intention of writing some verb in the second half of the sentence in the sense of ‘contesting,’ but altered his mind, and so left τοῦτο in a vague grammatical relation. An easy alteration is τούτου governed by τάνατία γιγνώσκω, but there is no MSS. authority for the correction.

With ἀφίστασθαι understand τὰς πόλεις. προθεῖσται must be taken closely with ξυμφέρον ἔσεσθαι, and answers to our infinitive. Translate ‘as to the point on which Cleon most strongly insists, that it will be useful for diminishing rebellion in the future if you hold out the penalty of death, I am of the contrary opinion, insisting on my view as strongly as he, in regard to the welfare of the future.’

4 πρός, ‘considered in the light of.’

τῶν δικαίων, ‘grounds of right.’ Grote compares Burke: ‘It looks to me to be narrow and pedantic to apply the ordinary ideas of criminal justice to this great public contest. I do not know the method of drawing up an indictment against a whole people.’

χρησίμως, sc. ἡμῖν.

45 But all communities have the death penalty for crimes less heinous than this, yet no individual or state when incited by hope is deterred by the fear of punishment. For mankind has many inducements to error, and it has never yet been found that death acts as a deterrent when any human passion excites men to enterprise. There is always the hope that Fortune will be kind.

I πολλῶν, ‘for many offences’; or we may take ἀμαρτημάτων here.

Θανάτου ζημία πρόκεινται. Ζημία is the reading of most MSS. Θανάτου is the genitive of description, ‘the death penalty,’ like τέλος θανάτου. ἀμαρτημάτων. The genitive of the crime to which the penalty is affixed. Both genitives stand in an adjectival relation to ζημία.

καταγνοὺς . . . ἐπιβουλεύματι, ‘having passed sentence upon him-

self that his hostile design would fail.' *τῷ ἐπιβούλεύματι.* Instrumental dative.

2 πόλις τε, 'and so also a state.' In this emphatic position *πόλις* has almost the meaning of a partitive genitive.

ἥσσω . . . παρασκεύν, 'having its force insufficient in its own belief,' i. e. believing its force to be insufficient.

ἄλλων ξυμμαχίᾳ. An instrumental dative, playing the part of an adjective, and balancing *οἰκείαν*, 'whether native or resting on foreign alliance.'

τούτῳ, sc. *τῷ ἀφίστασθαι*.

3 προστιθέντες εἴ πως, sc. *αὐτάς*, 'ever inflicting (note tense) fresh penalties in the hope that.' For *εἰ* cf. 3. 4. 4.

ἀδικημάτων, depends on *αὐτάς*, sc. *τὰς ζημίας*.

παραβαινομένων δὲ . . . ἀνήκουσιν. With *παραβαινομένων* we might understand *τῶν ζημιῶν*, but it is better to take the participle as a neuter impersonal. Cf. 1. 7. 1 πλωῖμωτέρων ὅντων. *ἀνήκουσιν.* An Herodotean word, unusual in Attic. Translate 'but as transgressions took place, in course of time the greater part was stretched to capital punishment.'

καὶ τοῦτο ὅμως παραβίνεται. *τοῦτο* must refer to *τὸν θίνατον* and mean the death penalty. *παραβίνεται* will then bear the meaning it afterwards bears in Demosthenes, 'is disregarded.' Cf. Dem. 24 παραβίας τὸν χρόνον τὸν ἐκ τῶν νόμων. No such meaning of the verb is to be found in Thucydides, and editors have suggested κανὶ τούτῳ, 'and even under these conditions,' and *ταῦτα*, 'and even so these crimes are committed.'

4 δέος, 'deterrent.'

ἄλλ' ἡ μὲν πενία . . . κινδύνους. *πενία*, *ἔξουσία*, αἱ ἄλλαι *ξυντυχίαι* are the external circumstances which give the impulse to rash enterprises. *τόλμα*, *πλεονεξία*, *ὄργη* are the passions which lead to the execution of the enterprise. *ἔξουσία*, 'fullness of means,' works by *πλεονεξία*, *πενία* by *τόλμα*, and αἱ ἄλλαι *ξυντυχίαι*, 'the other conditions of life,' comprehend all other cases by a general description, the passion that corresponds to *τόλμα* and *πλεονεξία* being denoted by the quite general word *ὄργη*. *ἀνάγκη*, *ὑβρει* καὶ *φρονήματι* are the more immediate motives that work in the first two cases. Some editors wish to write *ὄργην* to correspond exactly to *τόλμαν* and *πλεονεξίαν*, but it is like Thucydides to change his phrase and

substitute the instrumental dative for the participial clause. $\tauῶν$ ἀνθρώπων to be taken with ὥργη is certainly awkward, but the conjecture $\tauὸν$ ἀνθρωπὸν which supplies an object to ἔξαγονσιν is forbidden by the order of the words. Could $\tauῶν$ ἀνθρώπων be taken with *aī* ξυντυχίαι? Some editors conjecture ὡς ἐκάστη, ‘as in each a man is mastered by,’ but ἐκάστη τις naturally hang together and refer to ξυντυχίαι. With ἔξαγονσιν we must supply an object. Translate ‘but poverty inspiring daring by necessity, and abundance inspiring avarice by insolence and pride, and the other conditions of life—as they are mastered severally by some mighty and insatiable motive—by the agency of human passion incite men to danger.’

5 δέ μὲν . . . ἐφεπομένη. Desire gives the first impulse and wakens hope. ἐπιβουλήν is the reading of M, but the other MSS. have ἐπιβολίν, a word which the scholiast seems to have read in 1. 93. 6, instead of the ἐπιβούλας of the MSS. ἐπιβάλλεσθαι τι is used meaning to ‘undertake,’ and Thucydides has so many *hafax legomena* that we may reasonably hesitate to alter the reading of most MSS. Translate ‘desire planning the attempt, and hope suggesting the facility of fortune.’

6 καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑποδεεστέρων, ‘even with insufficient means,’ goes closely with κινδυνεύειν.

ὅσῳ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων τε. With ὅσον Thucydides often omits μᾶλλον or μαλίστα. Most MSS. omit τε, and we must understand κινδυνεύοντι with ὅσῳ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων. C has τε, by which περὶ τῶν μεγίστων is coupled with μετὰ πάντων, and must be taken with ἐδόξαστεν. The τε looks like a correction, and without it the sense is better. αὐτόν is a certain emendation of the MSS. unmeaning αὐτῶν. ἐδόξαστεν, gnomic aorist. τι, ‘considerably.’ Translate ‘inasmuch as they are playing for the highest stakes, freedom or empire over others, and every one, when acting with the community, thinks far more highly of himself than he reasonably ought to think.’

7 ἀπλῶς τε . . . δεινῷ, ‘and in a word it is impossible and a huge simplicity to think that, when human nature is eagerly bent on some enterprise, one has any deterrent in the force of laws or in any other terror.’ πολλῆς εὐηθείας, ‘it belongs to, is the mark of much simplicity.’

46 Do not then trust to the death penalty or lead your rebels to suppose that their fault is unpardonable, and that there is no room for repentance. For such an idea will make them resist to the death, and when you have subdued them you will suffer loss in that you both will be exhausted by the struggle. Prevention is better than cure; but if you must punish, punish as few as possible.

I ὡς ἔχεγγύω. As giving security for the behaviour of the other states.

ὡς οὐκ ἔσται. οὐκ is pleonastic.

ὅτι ἐν βραχυτάτῳ for ἐν ὅτι βραχυτάτῳ, 'in the shortest possible time.'

2 νῦν μέν, 'as things are now': answered by ἐκείνως δέ.

ἢν τις καὶ ἀποστᾶσα πόλις, 'if any state, even when it has actually revolted.'

τὴν δαπάνην. 'The war indemnity.'

τίνα ἥντινα οὐκ. See note on 3. 39. 7.

παρασκευάσεσθαι. The MSS. read the aorist, but cf. note on 3. 24. 1. The future is no doubt right.

παρατενεῖσθαι ἐς τούσχατον, 'to be brought to the last extremity': cf. Aristoph. Clouds 213 ὑπὸ γὰρ ἡμῶν παρετάθη. Plat. Symp. 207 B τῷ λιμῷ παρατείνεσθαι.

εἰ τὸ αὐτὸ . . . ξυμβῆναι, 'if a tardy and a quick surrender come to the same thing.'

3 τῷδε, 'in revenue.'

4 ἐς χρημάτων λόγον ἰσχυούσαις, 'strong in respect of wealth': an expression which occurs several times in late Greek writers.

τῶν ἔργων, 'our administration.'

6 ὅτι ἐπ' ἐλάχιστον for ἐπὶ ὅτι ἐλάχιστον, 'to the smallest possible number of persons.'

47 Above all how impolitic to punish the commons of Mytilene who never joined in the revolt, and surrendered to you the city. At present the commons in every state are your friends; if you alienate them they will in all cases revolt with the oligarchs. I would even advise you to wink at any fault they may have committed.

I τοῦτο, 'in this point.'

- 4 μὴ προσποιεῖσθαι, 'to pretend they did not': sc. ἀδικῆσαι αὐτούς.
 5 τὴν κάθεξιν, 'the maintenance': a word peculiar to Thucydides and late writers.

καὶ τὸ Κλέωνος . . . γίγνεσθαι. This refers to 3. 40. 4 πειθόμενοι μὲν ἐμοὶ τά τε δίκαια ἐσ Μυτιληναίους καὶ τὰ ξύμφορα ἄμα ποιήσετε. τὸ αὐτὸ δίκαιον καὶ ξύμφορον is epexegetic of τὸ Κλέωνος: 'Cleon's statement, i. e. the identity of justice and expediency in their punishment, is found not to be possible if this course be taken.' ἐν αὐτῷ refers back to διαφθέρω, and is pleonastic after τῆς τιμωρίας.

- 48 I would advise you then to punish the guilty whom Paches has sent to Athens and to leave the rest to live in peace.

- I τάδε, 'my proposals.' πλέον νείμαντες. Cf. 3. 3. 1.
 οὐδέ, 'no more than Cleon.'
 ἀπ' αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν παρανομένων, 'judging merely by the arguments urged.' The phrase is opposed by δὲ to πλέον νείμαντες, as though it corresponded grammatically. καθ' ἡσυχίαν, 'dispassionately.'
 2 πρὸς τοὺς ἔναντιούς might be taken either with βουλεύεται or with κρείσσων ἔστιν.
 μετ' ἔργων ἴσχύος must be taken together.

This remarkable speech anticipates some of the arguments that have been used in modern times by the advocates of the abolition of capital punishment. Grote remarks that Diodotus discards all appeals to pity and to justice, and rests his argument upon reasons of public prudence. He feels that the prevailing sentiment is or has been against him, and that he must appeal to the reason of his audience.

- 49 The Athenians decide to revoke their decree, and a second trireme is sent to catch the first. It is only just in time.

- I ἐντιπάλων is predicative. It might mean 'opposed' or 'of equal weight.' The first is the common meaning of the word, but the second makes better sense. Translate 'when these opinions had been delivered of almost (*μάλιστα*) equal weight.'

ὅμως, 'in spite of the reaction against the decree.' If the correction ὁμοίως were adopted it would mean that the Athenians were as divided in their votes as the speakers had been in their speeches. But the MSS. give good sense.

- ἀγχώμαλοι. A word peculiar to Thucydides and late writers.
- 2 τῆς προτέρας. The MSS. read δευτέρας. The only possible way of translating it is to take μή out of its place. ‘In order that by the second arriving first they may avoid finding.’ But προτέρας is required to supply a subject for προεῖχε. It is difficult to account for the corruption.
- 4 ἀλλόκοτον, ‘unnatural.’ Unusual in Attic and of uncertain derivation.

τοσοῦτον ὅσον ἀνεγνωκέναι, ‘by just so much as for him to have read.’ Cf. I. 2. 2 νεμόμενοι τὰ αὐτῶν ἐκαστοι ὅσον ἀποζῆν. The infinitive depends naturally on the idea of sufficiency expressed by the preceding words.

ἢ δ' ὑστέρα αὐτῆς ἐπικατάγεται. ὑστέρα αὐτῆς must be taken together predicatively. ἐπι- is pleonastic. ‘But the other put into land after it.’

παρὰ τοσοῦτον . . . ἥλθε κινδύνου. This is the same παρά that is used to express comparison and difference. παρὰ τοσοῦτον means ‘by so much difference or distance,’ i. e. ‘by so short a difference from.’ The thing from which the distance is is put in the genitive, probably the ablative genitive, or it might be the same genitive we find after ἔγγύς, πλησίον. Instead of a genitive we sometimes find an infinitive, cf. 8. 33. 3 παρὰ τοσοῦτον ἐγένετο αὐτῷ μὴ περιπεσεῖν τοῖς Ἀθηναῖοις. κινδύνουν, ‘the last extremity.’ Perhaps we have here a mixture of two constructions, ἐς τοσοῦτον κινδύνου ἥλθεν ἢ Μυτιλήνη and παρὰ τοσοῦτον οὐκ ἀπώλετο ἢ Μ.

- 50 The Athenians execute the chief authors of the revolt, and parcel out Lesbos (with the exception of Methymna) into cleruchies. But the Lesbians continue to work the land themselves, and pay the Athenian owners a fixed rent. The Athenians also take forts on the mainland that belonged to Mytilene.

- I ἦσαν δὲ ὁλίγῳ πλείους χιλίων. Cleon’s party might have been satisfied with the severity of this barbarous execution which Thucydides, according to his custom, relates without comment. But it is to be hoped that the MSS. reading χιλίων is an error. Thucydides would hardly have named a thousand men as αἰτιώτατοι τῆς ἀποστάσεως.

2 κληρούχους ἀπέπεμψαν. The arrangement made here is not quite clear. We are told in one sentence that 2,700 cleruchs went to Lesbos to take up this land, and in the next that the Lesbian proprietors remained on their land paying rent to the Athenian owners. Perhaps these cleruchs went at first as a garrison, and returned when it was ascertained the island could be kept without them.

ταξάμενοι, 'having agreed to pay,' 'having accepted the assessment.' Cf. 1. 99. 3 χρίματα ἐτίξαντο ἀντὶ τῶν νεῶν τὸ ἵκνούμενον ἀνάλωμα φέρειν.

τοῦ κλήρου ἑκάστου and τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ are both genitives that stand in an adjectival relation to δύο μῆνας. In both cases the minae belonged to the lot and to the year.

51

The capture of Minoa by Nicias.

2 ἐβούλετο δὲ Νικίας . . . τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. Hitherto the Athenians had been compelled to blockade the Megarian harbour from the opposite shore of Salamis. It was the wish of Nicias to capture Minoa that the Athenians might blockade Nisaea from that place (*αὐτόθεν*) which was a nearer point of vantage (*δι' ἐλάσσονος*).

τούς τε Πελοποννησίους . . . ἐσπλεῖν. The construction of these sentences is difficult. *τούς τε Πελοποννησίους* must be governed by the sense of φυλακὴν εἶναι, 'and he wished them to keep watch on the Peloponnesians that they should not secretly sail out from this place (i. e. from Nisaea) in expeditions of triremes, as indeed happened previously, and of privateers.' Then *τοῖς τε Μεγαρεῦσιν . . . ἐσπλεῖν* is added almost as an afterthought, depending on ἐβούλετο or φυλακὴν εἶναι, 'and he wished that nothing should be brought in by sea to the Megarians.'

Some editors adopt the correction *πρός τε* for *τοῖς τε Πελοποννησίους* which gives much the same sense in an easier construction, 'he wished them not only to keep guard on Megara but against the Peloponnesians.' οἷον καὶ . . . γενόμενον. Supply ἥν. The allusion is to the attempt made by Brasidas on the Piraeus at the instigation of the Megarians. Cf. 2. 93.

3 ἐλῶν οὖν . . . τῆς ἡπείρου. The chief difficulty of this passage lies in the words ἀπὸ τῆς Νισαίας which in sense seem to belong to *προύχοντες*, but by position would naturally be taken with *ἐλῶν*. Most editors

construe them with ἐλών, ‘having taken first on the Nisaea side two projecting towers by engines from the sea,’ but the meaning of this is not clear. To explain it, (*a*) some oppose to ἀπὸ τῆς Νισαίας the words τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου. The island, it is conjectured, lay along the coast, and opposite to Nisaea, or, as Thucydides says, ‘on the Nisaea side,’ there were two towers built out into the sea, perhaps from Nisaea itself, to close the passage. These towers Nicias assailed from the sea, and by taking them freed the passage into the channel. He then built a fortification at the other end of the channel on ‘the part looking to the mainland,’ where the island was nearer to the mainland and could be reached by troops.

(*b*) Others interpret ἀπὸ τῆς Νισαίας, ‘on the side distant from Nisaea,’ to which is contrasted τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου, ‘the other side of the island, that looked to the mainland.’ The two towers are supposed to have been situated on Minoa, and Nicias is understood ‘to have opened the approach to those parts of the island which lay between the two towers?’ But it is very doubtful if ἀπὸ τῆς Νισαίας and τὸ μεταξὺ τῆς νήσου can bear such meanings.

(*c*) It is best, in spite of the order of the words, to take ἀπὸ τῆς Ν. with προύχοντε. Tr. ‘Having taken first two towers projecting from Nisaea by engines from the sea, and having thus freed the entrance into the channel between the island and Nisaea, he fortified also the part by the mainland where it was possible for troops to be sent by a bridge, over shallow water, to the island, since it lay not far from the mainland.’ For the elliptical ἐσ τὸ μεταξὺ τῆς νήσου, meaning ‘into the channel between the island and the mainland,’ cf. Aristoph. Birds 187 ἐν μέσῳ δίπισθεν ἀγρῷ ἔστι γῆς, where we supply καὶ οὐρανοῦ, Aeschyl. Choeph. 63 ἐν μεταχμίῳ σκότου, ‘between darkness and light,’ and Shilleto’s note on Dem. de Fals. Leg. 181. For τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου, ‘the part looking to the mainland,’ cf. i. 64. I τὸ δ’ ἐκ τοῦ ισθμοῦ τεῖχος. Minoa is now part of the mainland which makes the geographical difficulty harder to solve.

52 *The unconditional surrender of Plataea. The Platacans plead their cause before five Spartan judges.*

I πολιορκεῖσθαι, ‘to endure the siege.’

2 προσίβαλλον, sc. οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι. The tense indicates the repeated attacks. Some MSS. read προσέβαλον, ‘had attacked.’

εἰρημένον γάρ, sc. **μὴ ἐλεῖν**. They wished to acquire Plataea by voluntary surrender, so that, if ever a peace were made with Athens on terms of the mutual cession of places acquired in war, Plataea might remain in the possession of the Lacedaemonians as having come over to them of its own accord. Cf. 5. 17.

ἀποδίδοσθαι, passive. The subject of **ξυγχωροῖεν** is **οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι**.

ἀνάδοτος. A rare word.

αὐτῶν, ‘of themselves.’

λέγοντα, εἰ βούλονται . . . οὐδένα. It is usual to take the words **εἰ βούλονται** as giving the question indirectly, ‘saying, are they willing to hand over the city to the Lacedaemonians and to use them as judges, and for them to punish the guilty, but no one unjustly?’

The alternative is to make **εἰ βούλονται** the protasis of a conditional sentence with the apodosis beginning at **τούς τε ἀδίκους**. We then have **τε** followed by **δέ** (unless we admit the conjecture **τούς γε ἀδίκους**) of which there are a few instances in Greek. **κολάζειν** must be a present with a future sense expressing the future action as already begun in their intention. Editors correct to **κολάσειν**. The more usual future is **κολάσεσθαι**.

4 **ἀγαθόν τι.** The pleonastic **τι** is not impossible. In the repetition of the formula in c. 54 and c. 68 it does not occur.

5 **προτάξαντες σφῶν αὐτῶν**, ‘having appointed as their spokesman.’

53 *We surrendered because we trusted you, but now we fear our confidence was misplaced. It seems we are brought to a trial already prejudged, and that you are sacrificing us to the animosity of the Thebans. Yet speak we must, that we may leave no stone unturned to secure our safety.*

The question had been framed so as to exclude all reference to events prior to the present war. But the speakers, in order to show the unfairness of the question, go further back and remind their judges (1) of the first alliance of Plataea with Athens, concluded at the recommendation of the Lacedaemonians themselves; (2) of the Persian war, with their own patriotism and the treason of the Thebans, and the great victory gained at Plataea by Pausanias, who dedicated that soil and buried his dead therein; (3) of the assistance they brought to the Spartans at the time of the revolt of

Ithome; (4) of the treacherous attack made by the Thebans at Plataea in time of truce.

The speech is more rhetorical and passionate than any other of the speeches invented by Thucydides, and the speakers are masters of the art of repeating the same points in different forms.

- 1 πιστεύσαντες, 'having gained confidence in you.'

καὶ ἐν δικασταῖς . . . φέρεσθαι. The MSS. read *ἐν* *ἄλλοις* to which it is objected that nowhere else in Thucydides do we find the preposition repeated with an attribute of the governed noun. *ἐν* is the forensic *ἐν*, 'in the court of,' 'before.' δεξάμενοι, 'since we chose,' cf. I. 143. 2 οὐδεὶς ἀν δέξαιτο . . . τὴν τε αὐτὸν φεύγειν. ἡ *ὑμῖν* is probably correct; the pleonasm is like Thucydides. δεξάμενοι (or δεξάμενοι *ἄν*) is not co-ordinated with *οἴόμενοι* by *καὶ* but subordinated to *ἡγούμενοι*, giving the reason why they expected to win justice. *καὶ* joins *οἴόμενοι* with *ἡγούμενοι*. Reading *ἐν*, translate 'and thinking that by our choice to be tried by you (as indeed we are) and none other we should best secure justice.' Reading *ἄν*, 'and thinking we should best secure justice since we should not have chosen to be tried by others than yourselves.'

- 2 φοβούμεθα μὴ . . . ἡμαρτήκαμεν. In a clause that expresses the speaker's mind regarding an event, we should naturally expect a subjunctive or optative, but the indicative is preferred when the happening of the event is felt to be a matter of past fact.

τό τε ἐπερώτημα βραχὺ ὅν is coupled to *προκατηγορίας* οὐ *προγεγενημένης* as giving the grounds of the inference. Consequently *βραχὺ ὅν* must be the accusative absolute to which the speaker changes for the sake of variety, 'conjecturing this because no indictment has been preferred against us, and because the question is a brief one.'

ῳ τὰ μὲν ἀληθῆ . . . γίγνεται. τὰ ἀληθῆ is the subject of *γίγνεται*, and *ἀποκρίνασθαι* is the epexegetic infinitive, 'to which question the truth is damaging for answering, i. e. for an answer.' Cf. note on 3. 2. 2. Others make τὰ μὲν ἀληθῆ *ἀποκρίνασθαι* the subject of *ἐναντίᾳ γίγνεται*.

- 3 εἰπόντας τι κινδυνεύειν. The whole stress falls on the participle. Cf. I. 20. 2 Βουλόμενοι δράσαντές τι καὶ κινδυνεῦσαι. Translate 'to speak *freely* if we must risk our lives.'

ὁ μὴ ρήθεις λόγος is equivalent to *τὸ μὴ ρήθηναι τὸν λόγον*. So in

Latin *ademptus Hector* = 'the loss of Hector.' So we might say, 'the unspoken word.'

αἰτίαν . . . ὡς, 'a reason for self-reproach on the ground that.'

- 4 ή πειθώ, 'the means of persuading you.'

ἥμῶν belongs to τὰς ἀρετάς, and is put first for emphasis.
αὐτό, 'this inferiority.'

- 54 We will remind you of our services to Greece and to yourselves—
we fought at Artemisium and at Plataea, and we brought you
aid at the time of the Helot revolt.

- 1 πρὸς . . . ἐς, 'our defence against the Thebans and our appeal to
you.'

ἢ ἔχομεν δίκαια, 'the justification we possess.'

δεδραμένων. The form δεδρασμένων, found in nearly all the MSS., is
very rare in Attic though it occurs in late prose. One inferior MS.
preserves the Attic form δεδραμένων.

- 2 αὐτούς, 'that you yourselves.'

- 3 τὰ δ' ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ. An adverbial (internal) accusative qualifying
ἀγαθοὶ γεγενήμεθα.

- 5 ὅτεπερ δῆ, 'at the very moment when.'

μετὰ τὸν σεισμόν. The earthquake and revolt of the Helots, by
which the Spartans were prevented from invading Attica, are related
in Thuc. I. 101. τὸν σεισμόν, 'the well-known earthquake.'

ἥμῶν αὐτῶν, 'of our own citizens.'

- 55 That we fell out with you subsequently was your own fault. You
repulsed us when we sought your alliance and bade us turn to
the Athenians. We could not desert them afterwards at your
bidding. We were bound to them by gratitude and privileges.
Yet we must not be blamed for what we did under orders from
the leaders of our confederacy.

- 1 δεομένων γάρ . . . ἀπεώσασθε. Cf. 3. 13. 7 βοηθσάντων ἴμῶν προθύ-
μως πόλιν προσλίψεσθε. So below where the influence of ὡς and the
interposition of ἐγγὺς ὄντας causes the genitive absolute (ἀποικοίντων)
to be written instead of the nominative.

- 3 εἰ δὲ . . . οὐκ ἤθελήσαμεν. οὐ not μή since εἰ = ὅτι.

ἄλλως τε καὶ . . . μετέλαβεν. τις = 'we.' Translate 'especially since
for the good service they had done us, and by our own request we

secured their alliance and received a share in their civil rights.' Such rights were not the public rights of voting or being elected to office, but the private rights of intermarriage and of purchasing and inheriting land. This limited citizenship was called 'Plataean citizenship.'

4 ἀ δὲ ἔκάτεροι . . . ξυμάχοις. ἄ is the internal accusative. ἐξηγεῖσθαι, 'to give orders as Hegemes.' Translate 'but for the injunctions you severally lay upon the allies whom you lead.'

56 In repelling the Theban invasion we only did what all men hold to be right. Do not allow your judgements to be warped by fear of their animosity. In the Persian wars they aided the invader, while we displayed patriotism that outweighs our present fault. Do not punish us for our disinterested attachment to Athens.

2 ιερομηνία is sometimes applied to a whole month, if the month is occupied entirely or mainly with a religious festival, sometimes as here to a particular day in the month.

3 εἰ γὰρ . . . λήψεσθε. If we keep the MSS. reading here we must translate, 'if you mean to interpret justice by the standard of your immediate interest and their hostility to us,' and suppose that one article is used to connect two different ideas, because the interests of the Lacedaemonians and the hostility of the Thebans here combined to produce the same effect, and were so far identical. The violent trajectio of τε (omitted in one good MS.) may be due to a desire to oppose ὑπῶν and ἐκείνων as well as χρησίμω and πολεμίᾳ. The expression τὸ ἐκείνων πολέμιον is unusual. The correction πολεμίως would remove all difficulties from the sentence, 'if you interpret justice in a malevolent spirit, by the standard of your interest and theirs.' Cf. 4. 17. 3 λάβετε δ' αὐτοῖς (i. e. τοὺς λόγους) μὴ πολεμίως.

4 πολύ goes with μᾶλλον, sc. ἡμεν.

5 τῆς τοῦ ἀμαρτίας. This genitive, without a preposition repeated, after a verb compounded with ἀντί is rare.

μᾶλλον. Rather than blamed.

πρὸς τὴν ἔφοδον, 'in view of the invasion.'

αὐτοῖς, the reading of M only, is obviously required. It is to be taken with πράσσοντες. αὐτοῖς must refer to the Persians.

ἀσφαλείᾳ = δι' ἀσφαλείας, cf. 3. 82. 4. ‘Who did not endeavour to compass their own ends in safety?’

6 ὡν ἡμεῖς γενόμενοι, ‘although we formed part of these.’

7 ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς, ‘for the same sort of conduct.’

καίτοι χρή ταῦτα . . . καθιστῆται. The passage is an apology for Plataean faithfulness to Athens. They are kept grateful alike by gratitude and interest. (a) It is usually translated ‘and yet we should show ourselves consistent in our judgments, and we should consider expediency to be merely this—when men feel enduring gratitude to good allies for their services and your own immediate interests to a certain extent are secured.’ But ἔχωσι for ἔχῃ τις is intolerable, and the combination of a general with a particular statement in the same sentence is unusual. (b) Most editors adopt the correction ἔχονται for ἔχωσι agreeing with ὑμῖν, ‘when you feel lasting gratitude to good allies for their services, and at the same time your own immediate interests are to a certain extent secured.’ Literally, ‘the immediate present is so ordered as to be useful to you.’ But the position of words is unusual. καὶ and πον show that to secure one’s own immediate interest is less important than to be grateful.

57 Your reputation for nobility is at stake. It is shameful that we, after all our sacrifices for the common cause, should be destroyed by you. We stand helpless and unaided, and our former services profit us nothing.

1 ἀνδραγαθίας. More in the general sense of ‘nobility’.

ἐπαινούμενοι δὲ . . . μεμπτῶν, ‘but you are praised of men, and we, who stand at your bar, are of no mean repute.’

ὅρατε ὅπως μὴ . . . ἐπιγνῶναι. ἐπιγνῶναι usually means in Thucydides, ‘to pass a new sentence.’ Cf. 1. 70. 2 ὑμεῖς δὲ τὰ ὑπάρχοντά τε σώζειν καὶ ἐπιγνῶναι μηδέν. Here, however, no previous sentence had been passed, and the word must bear the meaning it has with late writers, ‘pass a judicial sentence.’ Translate ‘beware lest men approve not that on brave men, though braver yourselves, you passed a disgraceful sentence.’

ἱεροῖς τοῖς κοινοῖς. Such as those of Olympia and Delphi.

2 πανοικεσίᾳ. So written correctly, ‘with all their houses.’

3 ἀπωλλύμεθα refers to the burning of Plateaea by the Persians, when the inhabitants were obliged to abandon the town at the approach of Xerxes.

ἐν ὑμῖν. Forensic *ἐν*, ‘at your bar.’

Θηβαίων. Ablative genitive with a word of comparison. It denotes the point from which their inferiority (here) is separated.

τότε μέν, ‘before our surrender.’

εἰ μὴ παρέδομεν = *nisi tradidissemus*.

διαφθαρῆναι depends on the idea of ἐκινδυνεύομεν contained in ἀγῶνας ὑπέστημεν.

Θανάτου δίκη κρίνεσθαι, ‘to be tried in a trial for life or death.’ Cf. 8. 68. 2 θανάτου δίκηι ἀπολογησάμενος. The genitive stands in an adjectival relation to δίκη, specifying the nature of the trial. One important MS. omits δίκη. Θανάτου will then be the genitive of price.

4 ἀτιμώρητοι, ‘with none to succour us.’

58 Relent and escape infamy by sparing us. We are not really your enemies, and moreover we whom you captured were captives entreating quarter and your constant benefactors. Bethink you of the tombs of your fathers consecrated in our land. Do not deprive of their worshippers the temples where they prayed for victory over the Persians.

I τήν τε δωρεὰν . . . πρέπει. αὐτούς referring to the Thebans is the accusative after ἀνταπαυτῆσαι. ὑμᾶς is the subject of κτείνειν as is clear from οὐς μὴ ὑμῖν πρέπει. Translate ‘and we beg you, in return for our services, to ask a favour of them—that you should not kill men whom it dishonours you to kill.’ Often, as here, the agent of the infinitive is not given in the form of the sentence, but must be conjectured from the context. In Hom. Il. 9. 230 ἐν δοῦῃ δὲ σωσέμεν ἡ ἀπολέσθαι νῆσας, νῆσας is first object then subject of the infinitive. So much the infinitive retains of its character as an abstract noun.

σώφρονά τε . . . χάριν, ‘with a pure gratitude from us instead of a disgraceful gratitude from them.’

κακίαν αὐτούς ἀντιλαβεῖν, ‘acquire in return for yourselves a character for baseness.’

- 2 οὐκ ἔχθροὺς γὰρ . . . τιμωρήσεσθε, ‘for we are not enemies whom it will be natural for you to punish.’
- 3 καὶ προνοοῦντες, sc. ἡμῶν, ‘taking thought for us also,’ or ‘taking thought before you decide.’
- 4 ἐσθήμασι. There is doubt as to the meaning of this offering. Some suppose it refers to garments offered to the dead, and burnt at the tombs. Others see a reference to the purple robe donned by the Plataean chief magistrate on ‘commemoration days.’ It is impossible to decide with certainty.
- ἐκ φιλίας χώρας. To be taken with ἐπιφέροντες.
- ἔμαιχμοις. An Ionic word, only here found in Thucydides. δρμαῖχμία also occurs once.
- 5 αὐθίνταις, strictly ‘those who murder with their own hands.’ The allusion is to the alliance of the Thebans with the Persians against the other Greeks.

ἱερά τε . . . ἀφαιρήσεσθε. ἐρημοῦτε is a present. We have a present combined with a future in 2. 44. *I τοὺς τᾶνδε νῦν τοκέας οὐκ ὀλοφύρομαι μᾶλλον ἢ παραμυθήσομαι.* ἐσσαμένων is referred to a present ιζω. Some MSS. read ἐσσαμένων, which is the right Attic form. If we retain the Ionic ἐσσαμένων, we may suppose the archaism reflects some formulary, perhaps some customary prayer, here utilized by the Plataeans for purposes of effect. The construction of the sentence is not quite clear. Some render ‘you are making desolate the shrines of the gods to which they prayed before they conquered the Mede, and you will take their ancestral sacrifices from those who founded and established them.’ But more probably ἀφαιρεῖσθαι should be taken to mean ‘deprive,’ ‘you will deprive our ancestral sacrifices of those who founded and established them.’ This corresponds better with ἐρημοῦτε ιερά.

59 *By your own fame and the common altars of the gods in Greece do not sacrifice us to our bitterest foes. We surrendered trusting to you. You should at least replace us where we were, and allow us to meet the danger that comes.*

1 ἐπικλασθῆναι . . . λαβόντας. The object of λαβόντας, which here = ἐπολαβόντας, is the general idea of the sentence—‘our unhappy case.’ Translate ‘to let your hearts be softened regarding our

case with a reasonable compassion,' i.e. compassion that is not misled by passion or prejudice.

κατανοοῦντας is a second reading in C. The other MSS. read *κατανοοῦντες*.

τὸ τῆς ἔμφορᾶς. Placed here by prolepsis. *καὶ ἀναξίω,* 'even though he deserve it not.' Translate 'and how incalculable it is on whom, however undeserving, misfortune may one day fall.'

2 *θεοὺς τοὺς διοβωμίους*, might mean, 'who are worshipped by all the Greeks on the same altars,' i.e. at Olympia or Delphi; or 'who have altars in every Greek state.'

ἐπιβοώμενοι, 'calling loudly on,' a word only found in the late historians.

πεισαι τάδε, after *ἐπιβοώμενοι*, 'that we win you to this.'

προφερόμενοι. The asyndeton is due to the passion of the speakers. Many editors insert *τε*.

μὴ ἀμνημονεῖν. May (1) depend on *ἰκέται γιγνίμεθα*, or (2) follow *προφερόμενοι ὄρκους* expressing the end to which the action of those words is decided. Cf. 3. 2. 2 (note). If (1), we translate, 'adducing the oaths which your fathers swore, we supplicate you not to forget your fathers' tombs.' Or *τάφων* may be the genitive used by Herod. 6. 68 *μετέρχομαι σε τῶν θεῶν εἰπεῖν*, 'we supplicate you not to forget them (the oaths) *by* your fathers' tombs.' If (2), translate, 'adducing the oaths which your fathers swore to the end that you should not forget them, we supplicate you *by* your fathers' tombs. (2) is preferable.

ἡμέρας τε . . . ἐκείνης. Natural divisions of time are often found without the article.

ἡ τὰ λαμπρότατα . . . παθεῖν. The connexion here is a little hard, 'on which we did most gloriously with them, whereas now on this day we are like to suffer the direst fate.'

3 *ὅπερ δὲ . . . λόγου τελευτῶν.* The infinitive is explanatory of *ὅπερ*. The genitive is put with *τελευτῶν* on the analogy of the genitive with such words as *λήγειν*. The clause *ὅπερ ἀναγκαῖον* anticipates and explains *πανόμενοι λέγομεν*. In translating we must amplify, 'and what is necessary and at the same time most difficult to men in this plight—that we do when we say in conclusion that,' cf. Plat. Symp. 220 ὁ πάντων θυμηστότατον, *Σωκρατῆ μεθύοντα οὐδεὶς πώποτε ἔωράκει ἀνθρώπων*.

τὸν ξυντυχόντα κίνδυνον, equivalent to *ὁς ἀν ξυντύχη κίνδυνος*. ‘the first danger that offers.’

61 *The Thebans claim the right of answering the Plataeans.*

The Plataeans by speaking at length compel us to answer, and show the falseness of their allegations. They rejected our hegemony in early days, and revolted to the Athenians, in company with whom they did us much injury.

1 *τὸ ἐρωτηθέν.* *ἀποκρίνεσθαι*, an intransitive verb, here takes a transitive meaning and construction.

καὶ ἄμα οὐδὲ ητιαμένων, ‘and at the same time too when they have not even been accused.’

πρὸς μὲν τά. The *κατηγορία*. *τῶν δέ*. The *ἀπολογία*. For the pronominal article cf. 3. 82. 7 *ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ ἀγάλλονται*.

2 *ἔξω δὲ . . . τὰ πάτρια*, ‘but separated from the rest of the Boeotians, and violated their ancestral customs.’ The speakers are referring to early history briefly related in Thuc. I. 12.

προσηγκάζοντο, ‘when force was used to compel compliance.’

62 *They refused to join the Persians only because the Athenians did the same. Afterwards they were the only Boeotians to aid the Athenians in their aggressions. We were compelled to medize by our government, which was a narrow oligarchy. Afterwards, under a constitutional government, we saved Boeotia in the battle of Coronea.*

1 *οὐδ' Ἀθηναῖος.* Ordinary attraction for *Ἀθηναῖοι*.

2 *τῇ αὐτῇ ἰδέᾳ*, ‘on the same principle,’ to be taken with *μόροις ἀπτικίσαι*. Cf. 6. 76. 3 *τῇ δὲ αὐτῇ ἰδέᾳ ἐκεῖνά τε ἔσχον καὶ τὰ ἐνθάδε νῦν πειρῶνται*.

3 *ἐν οἷς εἴδει*, ‘in what situation,’ i. e. ‘under what form of government.’ *εἶδος* is opposed to *ἰδέα* expressing their outward circumstances as opposed to the inner circumstances of their action.

οὐτε κατ' ὁλιγαρχίαν ισόνομον. ‘The term *ισόνομος* relates to the equality of all the citizens with one another, as far as relates to their private disputes and private injuries.’—Arnold. Cf. 2. 37. 1, where the same claim is made for the Periclean democracy. *πολιτεύειν*, ‘to possess a certain form of government.’ Translate ‘the

constitution of our state at that time was not an oligarchy allowing to all citizens equality before the law.'

τῷ σωφρονεστάτῳ. The superlative is partly due to a desire for a verbal antithesis, partly indicates that as a narrow oligarchy is the worst, so this in the eyes of a Theban is the very best form of government; i.e. 'the ideal of moderation.'

δυναστεία ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν, 'a narrow clique of the influential class.'

4 *αὐτῇ ὄνειδίσαι ὥν.* The usual construction is *ὄνειδίζειν τινί τι.* Here the genitive is causal.

ἥν μὴ μετὰ νόμων ἡμαρτεῖν = τοίτων ἀ ἐν φῇ μὴ μετὰ νόμων ἥν ἡμαρτεῖν, 'for mistakes it committed when it had no constitution.' *μὴ* generalizes the relative clause.

5 *γοῦν,* 'introduces a reason for a foregoing statement, not absolutely conclusive but going some way to prove it.'—Forbes.

κατὰ στάσιν, 'owing to our dissensions.'

εἰ, 'if we did not.'

ἐν Κορωνείᾳ. In 447–6 the Athenians, as they returned from a successful attack on Chalconea, were defeated at Coronea, and lost all hold on Boeotia.

63 If they only joined the Athenians to get assistance against us, why did they aid them in attacking others? If the Athenians compelled them against their will, why did they not have recourse to the Peloponnesian League? But it was disgraceful to betray their benefactors. But there are some debts that can only be repaid with dishonour, and such was the debt the Plataeans owed the Athenians.

1 *ἀξιώτεροί,* 'more worthy than we are.'

2 *ἐπὶ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ τιμωρίᾳ,* 'to gain help against us.' Cf. 3. 55. 1. The possessive pronoun is put for the objective genitive.

τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς, adverbial accusative with *ἐπάγεσθαι*, 'for defence against us.'

ὑπάρχον γε ἦμῖν, accusative absolute, 'since this was in your power,' i.e. *μὴ ξυνεπιένται.*

εἴ τι καὶ ἄκοντες, 'even although you were to a certain extent coerced by the Athenians against your will.'

ἥδη γεγενημένης, 'since the alliance already existed.'

προβάλλεσθε. ‘advance in your defence.’

ικανή γε ἦν. The asyndeton is softened by $\gamma\epsilon$, which introduces a reason that is intended to go some way to prove the previous statement. It is unnecessary to insert η , or to read *ικανήν γε ἡμᾶς*, or to adopt *γάρ* from one bad MS.

τὸ μέγιστον. An adverbial accusative standing in apposition to and explaining the content of the sentence.

παρέχειν, sc. *ἱμῖν*.

ἔτι belongs to *βιαζόμενοι*. There was compulsion once. Cf. 3.

55. Ι ὅτε Θηβαῖοι ἡμᾶς ἐβιάσαντο.

3 δέ γε, ‘yes but.’

καταπροδοῦναι, ‘to betray *utterly*’.

τοὺς μὲν . . . τοὺς δέ. By the figure Chiasmus *τοὺς μέν* refers to *Αθηναίους*, *τοὺς δέ* to *τοὺς πάντας Ἕλληνας*, by which he understands the whole Peloponnesian league.

4 καίτοι τὰς ὁμοίας . . . ἀποδιδομένας. *ὁμοίας* is emphatic, and refers back to *οὐκ ἴσην*. The form of the sentence is misleading if we render it literally. Thucydides means that it is disgraceful not to return kindness for kindness when that can be done honourably, it is not disgraceful not to return a kindness which can only be returned unjustly. So *αἰσχρόν* really only belongs to the first part of the sentence. *ἐσ* *ἀδικίαν*, ‘with the result of injustice.’ Note difference of tense in *διειληθείσας* and *ἀποδιδομένας*. The debt is certainly contracted, its repayment is still in question. *μὴ ἀντιδιδόναι* must be taken with both parts of the sentence.

64 The Plataeans chose the Athenians then, let them fight the quarrel out with their assistance to-day. They must not appeal to the old Hellenic league, for they deserted that to aid Athenian aggression. Finally they rejected the proposal of neutrality before the investment of their city. The meaning of their former virtue has been explained by their subsequent history.

I τε, ‘and so.’

μόνοι, i.e. of the Boeotians.

ἵμεῖς δέ is an independent sentence, ‘while you did not join the Persians because you wished to act with the Athenians and in opposition to the other Boeotians.’ *μόνοι* conceals the word to

which *ὑμεῖς* is opposed and to which *τοῖς δέ* refers, viz. the other Boeotians. A good many MSS. read *ἡμεῖς δέ*, with a comma, which gives a simpler meaning and a more natural construction, ‘because the Athenians did not join them either while we did.’ *τοῖς δέ* then refers to the Thebans.

- 2 ἀφ' ᾧ . . . ωφελεῖσθαι. ἀφ' ᾧ = ἀπὸ τούτων ᾧ, ᾧ an adverbial accusative with ἀγαθοὶ ἐγένεσθε. ἀπὸ τούτων is added pleonastically, perhaps to heighten the scorn the speaker intends to convey. Translate ‘and now you claim to profit by virtuous conduct which was displayed for the sake of others.’

ξυναγωνίζεσθε, ‘continue to fight on their side.’

- 3 *ξυγκατεδουλοῦσθε*, ‘you were always ready to join them in enslaving.’ The war of Athens and Aegina is related in 1. 105, 108.

τῶν ξυνομοσάντων, ‘of those who had joined the original league.’
οὔτε . . . τε, ‘not . . . but.’

τοὺς νόμους, ‘the constitution.’

τὴν τελευταίαν τε. Postscript τε.

ἡμῶν is the reading of the best MSS. Others have *ὑμῶν* which will be the objective genitive, ‘our appeal to you.’

ὡστε, ‘on the condition that.’

- 4 οἴτινες, ‘seeing that you.’

ἄ. Adverbial internal accusative.

οὐ προσήκοντα, ‘to be foreign to your nature.’

ἄ δὲ . . . ὀληθές, ‘but the constant tendency of your disposition has been proved convincingly.’ *ἐσ τὸ ὀληθές* is an adverbial phrase expressing the effect of the verb. Cf. 3. 63. 4 *ἐσ ἀδικίαν*. Thucydides uses *ἐσ τὸ φανερόν*, *ἐσ τὸ ἀκριβές* in the same adverbial way.

- 65 *They have no real grievance against us because we entered their city in time of peace, because we were invited by their leading citizens, who knew us for friends, not enemies.*

- I *ἱερομηνίᾳ*. All the MSS. here read *ἱερομηνίαις* of which no satisfactory explanation has been given. Most editors correct to the singular, supposing that the mistake arose from the proximity of *σπονδαῖς*. So in 5. 27 *αἱ ξυμπαχίαι* follows *αἱ σπονδαί*.

- 2 *αὐτοί*, ‘unprovoked.’

ἐσ δὲ τὰ κοινὰ . . . καταστῆσαι, ‘to make you conform again to

the national institutions of all the Boeotians.' That *πάτρια* is the substantive is shown by the position of the article.

3 πλείω παραβαλλόμενοι. Staking more, i.e. 'having more to lose.'

φιλίως, οὐ πολεμίως. If the reading is sound οὐ πολεμίως is due to a love of verbal antithesis. *φιλίους οὐ πολεμίους* has been conjectured, which supplies an object to *κομίσαντες*, and refers, as is required, to the feelings of the Thebans who were at peace with the Plataeans at the time. The conjecture receives some support from the opening sentence of the next chapter.

μηκέτι μᾶλλον γενέσθαι, sc. *χείρους*, in which the comparative idea is not prominent, 'wishing the baser among you not to grow worse.'

τῆς γνώμης, 'their principles' or 'their judgment,' strongly opposed to τῶν σωμάτων, the opposition being emphasized by the Chiasmus.

τῶν σωμάτων . . . ἀλλοτριοῦντες, 'not depriving the state of their persons.' *ἀλλοτριοῦν*, which usually means to 'estrangle,' is here used in a different sense for the sake of verbal antithesis to οἰκειοῦντες. In I. 40. 2 we have something similar, μὴ ἄλλου ἔαντὸν ἀποστερῶν, 'not depriving another of his services.'

ἐσ τὴν ἔνγγειαν οἰκειοῦντες, 'bringing them into a natural union with their kindred'—Jowett.

66 *And in spite of our peaceful and friendly conduct they set upon us, and put to death their prisoners who surrendered on promise of their lives.*

2 εἰ ἄρα . . . ἐσελθόντες, 'if perhaps we did (*καὶ*) seem to have acted somewhat unfairly in entering your city against the will of your commons.' τὸ πλήθος, the democratic party, opposed to the small oligarchical party which admitted the Thebans.

μήτε . . . τε, 'not . . . but.'

νεωτερίσατ. Explanatory of τὰ ὄμοια. The infinitive is often so used without an article to explain neuter substantives, more especially neuter pronouns. *νεωτερίζειν* is used, by litotes, of a violent or severe act. Cf. 2. 6. 2 μηδὲν νεώτερον ποιεῖν περὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐς ἔχοντι Θηβαίων.

λόγοις τε πείθειν. The MSS. read *πείσειν* which gives no reasonable meaning. Most editors adopt *πείθειν*, 'to urge.'

ἐπιθέμενοι δέ belongs to both the sentences *οὐς μὲν ἀπεκτείνατε* and *οὐς δὲ διεφθείρατε*. It stands first, partly to show that it belongs to both sentences, partly it is opposed to *τὰ μὲν όμοια οὐκ ἀνταπέδοτε ήμῖν*.

The two relative clauses *οὓς μὲν* and *οὓς δέ* may be taken as object clauses to their verbs *ἀλγοῦμεν* and *δεινὰ εἴργασθε*, since both these verbs can be constructed with an accusative. But probably Thucydides conceived these clauses as standing in a freer relation to their verbs. ‘For what concerns those whom ye slew we do not grieve so much.’

οὓς δὲ χεῖρας. The Plataeans have been guilty on three grounds, expressed by three participles, the first of which belongs to the object, the other two to the subject of the sentence. But the first is connected by *καὶ* with the other two as though it were in the same case.

ὑστερον, as the MSS. stand, must be taken with *ὑποσχόμενοι*. Translate ‘but those who held out their hands to you, and whom you took alive and afterwards promised us to spare, you slew against law, and what a fearful crime is this !’ The sentence would give better sense if we wrote *ὑστερον* after *κτενεῖν* and took it with *διεφθείρατε*. Cf. *τὸν ὑστερον θάνατον* below.

3 *καὶ ταῦτα τρεῖς ἀδικίας.* *καὶ ταῦτα*, ‘and that too,’ intensifying the heinousness of the crime. He begins as if *πράξαντες* belonged to *εἴργασθε*, ‘and that too by committing three misdeeds in brief space.’ But the sentence develops as it proceeds, and presently a new verb appears to which *πράξαντες* must be referred but now in a concessive sense, ‘and although you committed—yet you say.’ Thucydides doubtless put *πράξαντες* with both verbs, but grammatically *καὶ ταῦτα* only has a meaning if *πράξαντες* belongs to *εἴργασθε* alone. The obscurity is due to compression.

Some take *τρεῖς ἀδικίας* in predicative apposition to *ταῦτα*, ‘and having committed these—being three offences,’ an unexampled expression. Others change the reading to *καὶ ταύτας* or *καὶ ταῦθα*.

μὴ κτενεῖν. MSS. *κτείνειν*. Editors alter to the future because elsewhere in Thucydides *ὑπόσχονται* is always followed by a future.

τὴν ψευσθεῖσαν ὑπόσχεσιν. Equivalent to *τὸ ψευσθῆναι τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν*. Cf. note on 53. 3 ὁ *μὴ ρηθεῖς λόγος*. *ἡμῖν* with *ὑπόσχεσιν*. The reading *ὑπόθεσιν* which is found in several MSS. gives no

reasonable sense, and the reference is obviously to the preceding *ὑποσχόμενοι*.

67 *Their past good services aggravate their guilt for they have been false to their own reputation. Their appeals for pity may fairly be disregarded if you consider that we too have suffered much from them. If they are isolated it is their own fault. They are not prisoners who asked for quarter on the field, but they submitted on terms to your tribunal. In condemning them you will make a salutary example.*

1 *ἡμεῖς δὲ . . . τετιμωρημένοι.* A harsh change of construction as if *φαινόμεθα* had preceded. There is no manuscript authority for the change to *ἡμᾶς τετιμωρημένους*.

2 *διπλασίας ζημίας.* With these words *εἶναι* must mean ‘turn out,’ ‘involve?’

ὅτι οὐκ ἐκ προσηκόντων. Literally, ‘because they sin not in accordance with what is fitting to them, as the possessors of *παλαιὰς ἀρετάς*.’ Translate ‘because in their errors they are false to their past.’

3 *ῶν* refers to the collective word *ἡλικίαν*.

ἐν Κορωνείᾳ. The defeat of the Athenians in Coronea lost them Boeotia.

καὶ οἰκίατ. It is true that we should rather expect *αἱ οἰκίαι*, and that the symmetry of the sentence, *ῶν πατέρες οἱ μὲν . . . οἱ δέ*, is spoilt by the intrusion of another subject, but it would be rash to say that the manuscript reading is un-Thucydidean; cf. 3. 98. 4 *τοσοῦτοι μὲν τὸ πλῆθος καὶ ἡλικία ἡ αὐτὴ οὗτοι βέλτιστοι δὴ ἄνδρες ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε διεφθάρησαν* where *ἡλικία ἡ αὐτή* is in much the same construction. *καὶ’ οἰκίας* has been conjectured. So in 1. 137. 2 we have *καὶ ἀξίαν* in one MS. for the obvious *καὶ’ ἀξίαν*. Translate ‘and others who were left behind as old men, and their houses left desolate, make supplication to you with far more justice to punish these men.’

4 *οἱ δὲ δικαίως, sc. πάσχοντες.*

τὰ ἐναντία, adverbial accusative, ‘deserve on the contrary to be an exultation to their enemies.’

5 *παρενέμησάν τε.* They transgressed under the following conditions: (1) they were not previously injured by us; (2) they came to their decision rather from hatred than from motives of justice; and (3) they do not suffer now an equal penalty in return;

referring to their imminent punishment which might be called a present punishment. There is no need to change the manuscript reading to ἀνταποδώσοντες or ἢν ἀνταποδόντες. πλέον is used for μᾶλλον.

ἀπὸ ξυμβάσεως, ‘on terms of capitulation.’

- 6 καὶ ἡμὲν. We should expect a second object after ἀμύνατε, but when Thucydides comes to his second object he changes to a new verb.

καὶ μὴ . . . ἐν ὑμῖν, ‘and let us not suffer defeat at your tribunal by their arguments.’

ποιήσατε δὲ . . . γίγνονται. λόγων and βραχεῖα are predicative. ἀμαρταγομέρων, ‘if they contain offence.’ For the passive use, cf. 2. 65. 11 ἡμαρτίθη καὶ ὁ ἐσ Σικελίαν πλοῦς. ἔπεσι, ‘with fine words.’ Cf. 2. 41. 4 οὕτε ὅστις ἔπεσι μὲν τὸ αὐτίκα τέρψει. Translate ‘but show Hellas by an example that the contests proposed by you will be contests not of words but of deeds; if the deeds be good, even a brief rehearsal of them suffices, but if they be deeds of error, speeches set off by fine words are but used to screen them.’

- 7 ἀλλ’ ἦν οἱ ἡγεμόνες. A good and simple instance of a sentence unmistakeably modified by the writer’s change of purpose. The insertion of ὥσπερ νῦν ἴμεῖς, given as an instance, causes the change from the general construction, with which the sentence begins, to the particular. Hence ποιήσησθε instead of ποιήσωται.

κεφαλαιώσαντες, ‘summing up in one short question.’ Refers to the βραχὺ ἐρώτημα of 3. 54. 2. Cf. 6. 91 πολλὰ παρεῖς τὰ μέγιστα κεφαλαιώσω.

πρὸς τοὺς ἔνυπαντας must be taken both with κεφαλαιώσαντες and διαγράμματα ποιήσησθε. It was with reference to all the prisoners that the ‘short question’ was to be put, and with reference to them all that sentence was to be passed. Translate ‘if heads of federations, as you are doing to-day, shall sum up in one short question with reference to all alike and so pass sentence, men will be less tempted to seek fine phrases to cloak unjust actions.’

- 68 The Lacedaemonian judges justify to themselves their ‘short question’ on the ground that the Plataeans had refused the neutrality demanded of them. So the Plataeans were all put to death, and the city was first given to some Megarian exiles and afterwards levelled to the ground. Out of its ruins was built a lodging-house for pilgrims to the shrine of Hera.

- I τόν τε ἄλλον χρόνον, i.e. all along up to the siege.

δῆθεν, ‘as they said’: ironical. Thucydides here for once gives us a glimpse of his own feelings.

κατὰ τὰς παλαιὰς Παυσανίου. In Thuc. 2. 71 we have an account of the treaty of Pausanias. It is said that Pausanias after the battle of Plataea, having called together all the allies, ἀπεδίδον Πλαταιεῖσι γῆν καὶ πόλιν τὴν σφετέραν ἔχοντας αὐτούμονος οἰκεῖν, στρατεῦσαί τε μηδέτα ποτὲ ἀδίκως ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς μηδ’ ἐπὶ δονλείᾳ.

μετὰ τὸν Μῆδον, ‘after the Persian defeat.’

καὶ ὅτε ὕστερον . . . ἐδέξαντο. If we retain the manuscript reading **καὶ ὅτε ὕστερον ἡ πρὸ τοῦ . . . κοινοὺς εἶναι κατ’ ἐκεῖνα, ως οὐκ ἐδέξαντο** we must suppose that **ὅτε** is repeated with a change by **ως**. It is, however, possible that Thucydides wrote **κατ’ ἐκεῖνας οὐκ ἐδέξαντο**. This would easily be corrupted since **σ** is used as an abbreviation of **ως**. **ἐκεῖνας** will be more suitable to **σπονδάς**, to which the pronoun obviously refers. With this change we find the Lacedaemonian judges justifying their question on two grounds, one, introduced by **διότι ἤξιοντι**, the other by the causal participle **ἡγούμενοι**.

τῇ ἑαυτῶν . . . πεπονθέναι. **δικαίᾳ βουλήσει** means ‘righteous intention.’ Others take the words as equivalent to **δικαιώσει**, ‘rightful claim,’ but this is unexampled. The emphatic words in the sentence are **ἔκσπονδοι ἥδη**, ‘thinking they had been injured by the Plataeans at a time when their just intentions had freed them from all former treaty obligations with them.’

τὸ αὐτό goes with **ἔρωτῶντες**. This peculiar order of words is called the **σχῆμα διὰ μέσου**.

ἐπότε μὴ φάνεν, ‘as each said no.’ The mood and negative of indefinite frequency. Translate ‘and the Lacedaemonian judges—thinking that the question, whether they had received any service at the hands of the Plataeans in the war, could be rightly put by them, because during all the earlier time they were ever demanding, as they asserted, of the Plataeans to remain at peace according to the old treaty of Pausanias, made after the defeat of the Persians, and because they considered, when afterwards the Plataeans refused the proposal which they made to them before the circumvallation, to be neutral in accordance with that treaty, that they had been injured by them at a time when their just intentions had freed them from all former treaty obligations with them—again brought them up one by one and asked them the same question,’ &c.

3 ἐνιαυτόν τινα, 'about a year.' So *tis* is sometimes used to qualify numerals.

Θηβαῖοι is a copyist's error. It is clear from the words below καὶ ἐνέμοιτο Θηβαῖοι that the subject of ἀπεμίσθωσαν is Λακεδαιμόνιοι, and consequently the other words in the sentence as far as this must have the same subject. We know too from another source that the city was destroyed by the Lacedaemonians.

ἐνοικεῖν. Cf. 3. 2. 2 τελεσθῆναι.

διακοσίων ποδῶν, perhaps 'long.' Cf. below νεῶν ἑκατόμπεδον. Others (wrongly) take πανταχῷ with these words '200 ft. square.'

κάτωθεν. These adverbs in -θεν seem to be used exactly like the corresponding adverbs of rest ἄνω, κάτω.

ἐν τῷ τείχει, 'within the wall,' i. e. inside the town. Cf. 1. 62. 6 ἐσ τὸ τείχος κατέφυγεν.

4 σχεδὸν δέ τι καὶ τὸ ξύμπαν. καὶ = 'atque adeo,' 'or rather.' 'And it was almost or entirely on account of the Thebans that the Lacedaemonians were so estranged in regard to the Plataeans.'

καθιστάμενον. See note on 3. 3. 1.

69 The Lacedaemonian fleet which was chased by the Athenians from Lesbos, reinforced by some other ships and by Brasidas, sail for Corcyra which was in sedition.

1 αἱ τεσταράκοντα νῆες. See chapter 29.

τότε, 'as then described': often so used by Thucydides to remind us of a point of time in the past narrative.

ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηναίων. ἐκ perhaps simply = ὑπό according to Herodotean usage; or it may mean 'by some out of the number of the Athenians.'

σποράδες = σποράδες γενόμεναι. But there is manuscript and scholiast authority for the deletion of *kai*.

2 στασιάζουσαν, 'because it was in sedition.'

δώδεκα μὲν . . . προφθάσωσι, 'since on the one hand the Athenians were in force about Naupactus with only twelve ships, and on the other hand, to get there before, &c.' For the co-ordination of dissimilar clauses cf. 4. 12. 2 ἀδύνατοι ἦσαν ἀποβῆναι τῶν τε χωρίων χαλεπότητι καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων μενόντων.

70 Certain Corcyrean prisoners return from Corinth to Corcyra primed to bring about a revolt from Athens. The resistance and death of Peithias, and escape of a few of his adherents with the Attic trireme.

- 1 In the sea fights between the Corinthians and the Corcyreans which took place in the year before the Peloponnesian war, the Corinthians had taken 250 prisoners: see on I. 54.

τῷ μὲν λόγῳ . . . διηγγυημένοι. *τοῖς προξένοις*, dative of the agent. *ταλάντων*, genitive of price: ‘professedly because their proxeni had gone bail for them to the amount of 800 talents.’ The amount is incredibly large, but was probably never meant to be paid. The proxeni were no doubt in the plot.

μετιόντες, ‘canvassing.’

- 2 *καταστάντων.* The ambassadors, i. e. with the Corcyreans.

κατὰ τὰ ἔνγκείμενα. Cf. I. 44. The resolution here taken to be allies with the Athenians *only so far* as the original treaty provided was reactionary, for, since that treaty, the Corcyreans had entered into more intimate relations with the Athenians, and had assisted them in an invasion of the Peloponnese.

- 3 *ἐθελοπρόξενος* was a self-constituted proxenos who received the ambassadors from Athens, although the Athenians had not commissioned him to do so.

τοῦ δήμου προειστήκει. The *προειστής τοῦ δήμου* was a recognized but unofficial personage, like our ‘leader of the Opposition.’

οὗτοι οἱ ἄνδρες. The retained prisoners.

- 4 *χάρακας.* In the masculine *χάραξ* is a stake for a stockade, in the feminine a vine-prop as here. The accused were tenants of the sacred ground which probably, from long use, they had come to regard as their own.

στατήρ. If this is the gold coin (20 drachmas) the fine seems incredibly severe; if the silver coin (2 drachmas) the number of vine-props cut must have been very large.

- 5 *διὰ πλῆθος.* Words that express measure or time are often used without an article.

ὅπως ταξάμενοι ἀποδῶσιν. In two other places *τάξασθαι* means ‘to accept a certain assessment.’ Cp. I. 99. 3 *χρήματα ἐτάξαντο ἀντὶ τῶν νεῶν τὸ ἴκνούμενον ἀνάλωμα φέρειν.* 3. 50. 3 *οἷς ἀργύριον λέσβιοι*

ταξίμενοι . . . δύο μῆνας φέρειν. So here ‘accepting a valuation for the stakes.’ Some interpret ‘that they should pay by instalments,’ but that would require *κατὰ χρόνους*.

τῷ νόμῳ. The statute which forbade the cutting of vine-props from the sacred land. It was probably an obsolete statute which the offenders never thought of. Hence the large number of offences.

6 *ἐξείργοντο.* Were debarred from paying a valuation.

ἔως ἔτι βουλῆς ἐστι. He intended to avail himself of his position as senator, and pass a resolution that would practically rescind the decree mentioned in the earlier part of the chapter.

ἐξαπινάως. This and *ἐξαπίνης* were the Ionic forms of *ἐξαιφνης*, which is used by all the Attics except Thucydides and Xenophon. In Thucydides *ἐξαπίνης* and *ἐξαπινάως* appear in the earlier books, *ἐξαιφνης*, together with *αιφνιδίως*, in the later.

71 *The oligarchs then propose a decree of neutrality, compel the assembly to ratify the proposal, and send to Athens to warn the exiles (the friends of Peithias) not to bring about Athenian intervention.*

1 *δέχεσθαι* after *εἶπον*, which with the infinitive means ‘proposed’ or ‘ordered’: literally ‘they spoke for their receiving.’

ἡσυχάζοντας, ‘remain neutral,’ of the Corcyreans. *μαζὶ νηὶ*, ‘if they came in a single ship’: cp. 2. 7. 2 τὰ τε ἄλλα ἡσυχάζοντας καὶ Ἀθηναίους δεχομένους μαζὶ νηὶ.

τὸ δὲ πλέον. We find the article used with cardinal numbers that appear as parts of a whole, and with comparatives regarded as supplementary to a whole.

τὴν γνώμην, ‘the proposal.’

2 *διδάξοντας ὡς ξυνέφερεν*, ‘to give such account as suited their interests.’

τοὺς ἐκεῖ καταπεφευγότας, ‘who were in *asylum* there’; hence *ἐκεῖ* not *ἐκεῖσε*.

ἀνεπιτήδειον, i. e. to Corcyra.

ὅπως μή . . . γένηται gives the motive of *πέμπονται πρέσβεις*. *ἐπιστροφή*, probably ‘counter-revolution.’ In Polybius it means ‘retaliation,’ and so perhaps here.

72 The Athenians arrest their ambassadors. At Corcyra the oligarchical leaders attack the democracy. At first the democracy is overcome, and retires to the high parts of the city and to the Hyllaic harbour.

I ὅσους ἔπεισαν, i. e. all of the Corcyrean exiles.

3 ιδρύθη, καὶ εἶχον. Cp. I. 13. Ι ναυτικά τε ἐξηρτύετο ἡ Ἑλλὰς καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης μᾶλλον ἀντείχοντο.

τὸν Ὄλλαικόν. Corcyra had two harbours. The other was named after Alcinous.

καὶ τὸν λιμένα, κ.τ.λ., ‘and the harbour near it that looked to the mainland.’

73 Next day both parties spend in reinforcing themselves.

74 In the renewed contest the democracy gains the upper hand, and the Corinthian ship and most of the mercenaries called in by the oligarchs make off.

2 περὶ δείλην ὁψίαν. The afternoon was divided into πρωΐα, ‘early,’ and ὁψία=late afternoon. Late afternoon was about sunset.

Ξυνουκίας. Lat. *insulae*, lodging-houses let out like flats to be shared by several families.

ἐκινδύνευσε διαφθαρῆναι, εἰ . . . ἐπεγένετο. ἐκινδύνευσε διαφθαρῆναι is almost equivalent to διεφθάρη ἄν. Similarly χρῆν, ἔδει, &c., are used without ἄν in the apodosis of a conditional sentence. So in Latin *potuit*, *debuit*, &c. The modal sense is given in the meaning of the verb, and there is no need for ἄν in Greek, or for the subjunctive in Latin.

ἐπίφορος ἐσ αὐτήν, ‘bearing it to the city.’ ἀνέμος ἐπίφορος is used of a favouring wind.

75 Nicostratus arrives and does his best to reconcile the contending factions. The democrats entreat him to leave some triremes for their protection and undertake to man an equal number themselves. To fill these they enrol oligarchs. But they, fearing they should be taken to Athens, seek sanctuary. The democrats first attempt violence, but, checked by Nicostratus, they subsequently convey the oligarchs to an island opposite the temple of Hera.

I ἐπρασσε, ‘sought to bring about.’

οὐ οὐκέτι ἔμειναν, parenthetical, ‘they however made off.’
 ὥστε, gives the terms.

- 2 ξυμπέμψειν depends on some implied verb of promising.
 3 κατέλεγον, ‘enrolled for service.’
 4 ἀνίστη καὶ παρεμυθεῖτο. The tense expresses his wish and endeavour.

ὡς οὐδὲν αὐτῶν . . . ἀπιστίᾳ, ‘on the pretext that their mistrust to sail with them argued evil intentions.’ τῇ ἀπιστίᾳ gives the grounds for suspicion. μή is added, as is common, though not necessary, after verbs of distrusting, to strengthen the negative in the principal verb.

- 5 μή τι νεωτερίσωσι, ‘lest they should resort to violence.’

76 Arrival of Peloponnesian fleet under Alcidas with Brasidas.

- I αἱ Πελοποννησίων νῆες. Cf. 3. 69.
 ἔφορμοι οὐσαι. Nowhere else is ἔφορμος used as an adjective. Perhaps we should read ἐφ' ὄρμῳ. In any case translate, ‘who had been at anchor there.’

ἐς Σύβοτα. This Sybota is distinct from the islands so called. It was a harbour of Thesprotis.

77 The Corcyreans man their ships in confusion, and in spite of the advice of Nicostratus send them out one by one as they are ready. The Peloponnesians detail twenty ships to meet these, and direct the rest of their ships against the Athenians.

- I πολλῷ θορύβῳ καὶ πεφοβημένοι. Cf. note on 3. 69. 2.
 οἱ δέ. The democratic party in Corcyra.
 τὰς ἀεὶ πληρουμένας, ‘as they were successively manned.’
 ἔκεινοις. The Corcyreans.
 ἐπιγενέσθαι, ‘to come afterwards.’
- 2 ἦν δὲ οὐδεὶς . . . τῶν ποιουμένων, ‘and the operations were disordered.’
- 3 αἱ δύο. See note on 3. 71. I τὸ πλέον. The Salaminia and Paralus were usually reserved for state service, more especially of a sacred character.

78 *The Athenians charge a wing and sink one ship. On the Peloponnesians being reinforced the Athenians back water, concentrating the Peloponnesian attack upon themselves to give the Corcyreans time to escape, and escaping themselves by superior tactics.*

1 κατ' ὀλίγας, 'in small detachments at a time.'

ἐταλαιπώρουν τὸ καθ' αὐτούς. The MSS. read ἐταλαιπωροῦντο καθ' αὐτούς, i. e. by themselves alone. The conjecture embodied in the text gives a better sense, and is more like Thucydides; 'in their part of the battle.'

ἀθρόας μὲν οὐ. The Athenians refrained from attacking the centre of the Peloponnesians ranged against them, but concentrated all their force in an attack on one of the wings, where they sank one ship.

κύκλον ταξαμένων αὐτῶν, 'when the Peloponnesians had drawn themselves up in a circle,' lit. had drawn up for themselves a circle. Cf. 2. 83. 5 ἐτάξαντο κύκλον τῶν νεῶν.

2 δεῖσαντες μὴ ὅπερ. The Lacedaemonians had adopted this formation at Naupactus (2. 83. 5), and the Athenians sailed round them till the wind rose and threw the Lacedaemonian fleet into confusion. Then the attack was made.

3 καὶ ἄμα. And together with their own retreat. The Athenians escaped by superior tactics.

ὅτι μάλιστα must be taken closely with προκαταφυγεῖν.

ἔαυτῶν. For this change to genitive absolute cf. 3. 22. 1 προσέμειξαν τῷ τείχει λαθόντες τοὺς φύλακας, ἀνὰ τὸ σκοτεινὸν οὐ προϊδόντων αὐτῶν. 3. 13. 7 βοηθησάντων ἴμων προθίμως πόλιν προσλήψεσθε. We should expect ᔾαυτῶν τε. The original design of the sentence is changed.

4 ἐτελεύτα ἐς ἡλίου δύσιν, 'lasted till sunset and then ended.'

79 *The Corcyreans, fearing attack, move their prisoners from the island to the temple of Hera. The Peloponnesians, in spite of their victory and of the advice of Brasidas, are afraid to attack the city and retire to Leucimme.*

2 κρατοῦντες, 'though conquerors.'

3 πόλιν . . . ὄντας. Cf. note on 3. 72. 3.

80 *The Corcyreans man thirty ships (persuading even some of the oligarchs to come on board), but the Peloponnesians, learning by fire-beacon the approach of an Athenian fleet, make off.*

1 σῆμας, ‘in spite of their defeat.’

2 μέχρι μέσου ἡμέρας. μέσου is the substantive μέσον.

ἔφρυκτωρήθησαν, ‘were signalled by fire-beacon from Leucas to be sailing to Corcyra.’

81 *Massacre of the oligarchs by the democrats, and utter demoralisation of social life.*

1 ὑπερενεγκόντες. By the help of the ὀλκοί, which we hear of in c. 15.

2 λαβόντες τούς τε Μεσσηνίους. λαβόντες has been suspected on various grounds. Its position is certainly suspicious, as there is no obvious reason for the misplacement of τε. λαθόντες has been suggested—meaning that the Demos did not wish their opponents to suspect, in this movement, their design of a general massacre.

τῶν ἔχθρῶν εἴ τινα λάβοιεν, i. e. any of their enemies who remained in the city as opposed to those in the ships. Hence, for the sake of contrast, the emphatic position of ἐκ τῶν νεῶν.

ἀπεχράντο, ‘dispatched,’ a meaning it bears here only. But cf. I. 126. 11, where the best MS. has ἀπεχρήσαντο for διεχρήσαντο, and Suidas quotes a line of Aristophanes where the word has this meaning. We find καταχρῆσθαι used in the same sense. The MSS. have the unmeaning word ἀπεχώρησαν, but Dionysius, quoting the passage, reads ἀνεχράντο.

3 ἀνηλοῦντο, ‘destroyed themselves.’

4 τὴν μὲν αἰτίαν . . . καταλύουσιν. The simplest explanation of these words is to take τοῖς τὸν δῆμον καταλύονταν in apposition to αὐτοῖς understood, as though Thucydides had written αἰτιώμενοι αὐτοὺς ἀπεκάλουν τοὺς τὸν δῆμον καταλύοντας, ‘accusing them as those who were endeavouring to subvert the democracy.’ Others take them ‘they killed those who were reputed to be their enemies, bringing the charge indeed against those who were for subverting the democracy (i. e. of doing so), while some also, &c.’ But the charge was brought against all their political opponents, not against part. Others translate ‘bringing the charge that justified their execution against those, &c.,’ but that is more than there is in the Greek. It is tempting to read ως for τοῖς, but it has no manu-

script authority. Mr. Forbes suggests that the obscurity is due to the fact that *τοῖς τὸν δῆμον καταλύοντι* is a bit of regular political slang which Greek readers would instinctively ‘put in inverted commas.’

ἀπέθανον δέ τινες, a slight anacoluthon. We should naturally expect another participial clause, such as ἔργῳ δὲ καὶ τινας ἀποκτείνοντες.

ὑπὸ τῶν λαβόντων, ‘by those who had borrowed the money.’

5 οὐδὲν ὅτι . . . περαιτέρω. ‘Everything and more than everything happened.’ *περαιτέρω* stands as an adjective. A similar expression occurs in Aristoph. Thesm. 705 ταῦτα δῆτ’ οὐδὲνὰ πράγματ’ ἐστὶ καὶ περαιτέρω;

82 Political reflections occasioned by the revolution in Corcyra.

1 ή στάσις. The article is needed, though it is not found in the MSS., since the *στάσις* has already been mentioned.

ώμη, predicative, ‘to such fierceness the party conflict advanced.’ With μᾶλλον understand ωμή.

ἐν τοῖς πρώτῃ. See note on 3. 17. 1.

καὶ, ‘even.’

ὡς εἰπεῖν qualifies πᾶν, ‘almost all the Hellenic world.’

διαφορῶν οὐσῶν . . . ἐπάγεσθαι. The infinitive signifies the end or object of the efforts implied in *διαφορῶν*. See note on 3. 2. 2. Translate ‘as quarrels in every state fell out between the leaders of the democracy, who strove to call in the Athenians to aid them, and the oligarchs, who were for summoning the Lacedaemonians.’

καὶ ἐν μὲν εἰρήνῃ, κ.τ.λ. With the ordinary punctuation (given in the text) we notice a participle and finite verb opposed to one another by *μέν* and *δέ*. Such an anacoluthon, though a harsh one, is not impossible in an author who, as we have seen, was apt to let the sentence change as it proceeded, careless of grammatical accuracy so long as the thought was kept clear. A similar anacoluthon is quoted from Plato, Symp. 220 πάντων οὐκ ἐξιάντων ἐνδοθεν . . . οὗτος δέ ἐξέει. Editors who deny Thucydides this freedom of expression change ἐτοίμων to ἐτόλμων. One editor puts a comma after Δακεδαιμονίους and a colon after πολεμουμένων δέ.

οὐκ ἀν ἔχόντων. ἄν because ἐν εἰρήνῃ = εἰ εἰρήνη ἦν. The subject of ἔχόντων is the two parties in the various states. With ἐτοίμων supply ὄντων.

πολεμουμένων δέ, κ.τ.λ. The impersonal use of the neuter plural. Cf. I. 8. 2 πλωιμώτερα ἐγένετο παρ' ἀλλήλους. Probably it is the middle of πολεμεῖν, ‘when war prevailed.’ Others take it from πολεμώ, ‘as the cities became involved in war.’

καὶ ἅμα, ‘at the same time also,’ ‘it naturally followed that.’ War brought the opportunity for making alliances. This is a notable example of the way in which Thucydides, as he proceeds with his sentence, fills out his original design. ξυμμαχίας, as the dominant word, stands first. Strictly it depends upon αἱ ἐπαγωγαὶ, but it is put with προσποιήσει, which could scarcely stand absolutely. ἔκατέροις refers to the two parties, and is afterwards defined more nearly by τοῖς νεωτερίζειν τι βουλομένοις. προσποιήσει and κακώσει are datives of purpose. σφίσιν αὐτοῖς depends on the verbal substantive προσποιήσει. Translate ‘now while there was peace the parties would neither have an excuse nor be willing to call on them, but when war prevailed, therewith too for either party (for the injury of their enemies and for gaining alliance for themselves by the same act) the procuring of allies was easy and at their service, as they wished for revolution.’

2 γιγνόμενα in meaning = οἷα γίγνεται.

μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἡσυχαίτερα. With μᾶλλον supply γιγνόμενα. καὶ = ‘or.’ Note the co-ordination of adverb and adjective. It is an extreme instance of the historian’s tendency to couple expressions not grammatically co-ordinate: cf. I. 63. 1 παρῆλθε βιαλόμενός τε καὶ χαλεπῶς. 7. 32. 2 ἀφνλάκτοις τε καὶ ἐξαίφνης ἐπιγενόμενοι διέφθειραν. It has been conjectured unnecessarily that ἡσυχαίτερα is a corruption of ἡσσον and some adjective. Translate ‘but occurring with more violence or greater mildness.’

καὶ τοῖς εἰδεσι διῃλλαγμένα, κ.τ.λ., ‘differing in form according as the changes of circumstances severally present themselves,’ i. e. differing with every new combination of circumstances. διαλλάσσω is seldom so used in the passive. In 3. 10. 1 we have the active in this sense, ἐν τῷ διαλλάσσοντι τῆς γνώμης. ξυντυχία, ‘conjunction,’ is a word of which Thucydides is fond.

ἐς ἀκουσίους ἀνάγκας. Into straits where free will ceases to exist.

τὴν εύπορίαν τοῦ καθ’ ἥμέραν, ‘the easy supply of daily needs.’ τοῦ for τῶν is unusual.

καὶ πρὸς τὰ παρόντα . . . δμοιοῖ, 'and for the most part subdues men's tempers to their environment.'

3 *ἐστασίᾳζέ τε οὖν.* The following sentence is found quoted in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, with certain alterations, but all the alterations are obvious corrections of harsh or unusual expressions by easy and usual ones. Hence we infer that the text possessed by Dionysius was a corrected copy. For *πύστει* he reads *ἐπιπύστει*, a word which would mean 'after intelligence,' a meaning which is not wanted, and the word occurs nowhere else. The *ἀποπύστει* which is found in two MSS. was due perhaps to the dittography of the preceding *πτους*.

τὰ ἐφυστερίζοντα, a periphrasis, like *τὰ τῶν πόλεων*, for *αἱ ἐφυστερίζουσαι πόλεις*.

πύστει τῶν προγενομένων, 'by hearing of the revolutions that had taken place previously.'

πολύ. Adverb, as in *πολὺ τικάν*. *ἐπέφερε*, 'carried further.'

τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ καινοῦσθαι τὰς διανοίας, 'the extravagance of forming new designs.' Translate 'carried much further the extravagance of the revolutionary spirit.'

τῶν τ' ἐπιχειρήσεων . . . ἀτοπίᾳ, 'by the excessive cunning of their enterprises, and the atrocity of their revenges.' *περιτέχησις* is a word only used again by late writers. *ἐπιχειρήσεις* attacks on political opponents.

4 *τὴν εἰωθυῖαν . . . τῇ δικαιώσει.* *ἀξίωσις* is the objective meaning of words, as opposed to *δικαιώσις* the subjective interpretation of them. *ἀξίωσις* has ordinarily a subjective sense, signifying a claim based on merit. *ἐσ τὰ ἔργα* can be taken with both *ἀντήλλαξαν* and *ἀξίωσιν*. Translate 'they changed by their interpretation the accepted meaning of words in regard to things.'

φιλέταιρος. An allusion to the clubs (*έταιρεῖαι*) of which we hear so much but know little. They seem to have been mainly societies framed in the oligarchical interest which secured the election of their own candidates to magistracies. They played a great part in the revolution of the 400.

τὸ δὲ σωφρον, κ.τ.λ., 'moderation was a mask of pusillanimity, and general intelligence was counted as general want of enterprise.' The man who looked into everything 'too clearly' would be slow to commit himself to action.

τὸ δὲ ἐμπλήκτως, κ.τ.λ., ‘frantic zeal was attributed to, set down as the part of, a *true man*.’

ἀσφαλείᾳ δὲ . . . εὐλογος. Most MSS. have *ἀσφάλεια*. How then should we construct *τὸ ἐπιβούλεύσασθαι*? (a) The words should mean ‘caution in plotting against the other side,’ but no such meaning can be derived from the words as they stand unless we adopt *τοῦ* from one inferior MS. (b) Some editors supply *ἐνομίσθη*, and translate ‘to plot against an enemy was accounted caution, that is, a specious pretext for self-defence’; but the sense is poor and the construction unlikely. (c) It is better then to adopt the reading given in the text which is supported by two important MSS. and by the scholiast. *ἀσφαλείᾳ* which is put first for emphasis is equivalent to *ἀσφαλῶς* and qualifies *τὸ ἐπιβούλεύσασθαι*. But with this reading we must find appropriate meanings for *ἐπιβούλεύσασθαι* and *ἀποτροπή*. In 3. 20. 1 *ἐπιβούλεύειν* is used for the simple *βουλεύειν* and it would seem that the middle is used in the same sense here; ‘to form plans cautiously.’ *ἀποτροπή* must be taken as the substantive, not of *ἀποτρέπειν* but of *ἀποτρέπεισθαι*, meaning ‘desertion,’ ‘evasion.’ Translate ‘to form plans cautiously was considered a specious pretext for desertion.’

5 **οὐ μὲν χαλεπαίνων**, ‘the violent man.’

ἐπιβούλεύσας δέ τις τυχών . . . καὶ ὑπονοήσας, ‘if a man was successful in his plots . . . and in suspecting plots against himself.’ With *ξυνετίς* and *δεινότερος* supply *ἐνομίζετο*.

προβούλεύσας δὲ ὅπως. *αὐτῶν* refers to *τοῦ ἐπιβούλευσαι* and *ὑπονοῆσαι*, ‘he who plotted from the first to have no need of plots or suspicions of plots.’

διαλυτής does not occur again in good writers.

τὸν μὴ διανοούμενον, sc. *κακὸν δρᾶν*.

6 **ἄλλοτριώτερον ἐγένετο**, ‘formed a tie less close.’ *τοῦ ἑταῖρικοῦ*, ‘than club or party spirit.’

διὰ τὸ ἑτοιμότερον, sc. *τὸ ἑταῖρικόν*.

οὐ γάρ μετὰ τῶν κειμένων . . . πλεονεξίᾳ. If the MSS. reading *ῳφελίας* is retained the meaning must be ‘such associations were not formed in accordance with the advantage of the established laws, but contrary to the constituted laws and for greed.’ A better sense would be given if we adopted the conjecture *ῳφελίᾳ*, a conjecture that is favoured by the paraphrase of Dionysius. *ῳφελίᾳ*

would exactly balance πλεονεξία. ‘Such associations were not found on the side of established law for a salutary end, but, &c.’

τὰς ἐσ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς πίστεις = τὰς ἐσ ἀλλήλους πίστεις, ‘they found the security of their mutual pledges not in the divine law.’

7 *τά τε ἀπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων . . . γενναιότητι.* The interpretation depends on the subject we choose for *προύχοιεν*. If the subject is *οἱ ἐναντίοι*, *ἔργων φυλακῆ* will mean ‘with a watchful eye to the enemy’s actions if the enemy be the stronger, not with generous confidence,’ and this is the most satisfactory rendering. Others explain *ἔργων φυλακῆ*, ‘protecting themselves by actions if they be the stronger’; and take *οἱ ἐνδεχόμενοι* as the subject of *προύχοιεν*.

ὅρκοι ξυναλλαγῆς. The true genitive has its accustomed adjectival force when found with a noun, ‘reconciliation-oaths,’ ‘oaths that had reconciliation for their object.’

πρὸς τὸ ἄπορον, ‘in view of their helplessness.’ *ἐκατέρῳ διδόμενοι*, ‘sworn by either party.’ *ὅρκον διδόναι* is usually to ‘exact an oath,’ but it occurs in the present sense occasionally. *ἔχόντων* agrees with the parties implied in *ἐκατέρῳ*, ‘so long as the parties found strength in no other source.’

ἐν τῷ παρατυχόντι, ‘when opportunity offered’: cf. I. 122. I *πρὸς τὸ παρατυγχάνον*.

ὁ φθάσας θαρσῆσαι, ‘he who was first to gain confidence.’ Nowhere else does Thucydides use the infinitive instead of the participle with *φθίνω*. The construction occurs once or twice in Aristophanes, and becomes more frequent in later writers.

διὰ τὴν πίστιν. Because his adversary relied on his pledge.

ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς, ‘than if he had attacked him openly,’ an expression peculiar to Thucydides. It is easy to supply a verb with *ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς* from the context.

καὶ τό τε ἀσφαλὲς ἐλογίζετο καὶ ὅτι, ‘and he reckoned up, took into consideration, not only the safety of this course but also the fact that.’

ξυνέσεως ἀγώνισμα, ‘a prize consisting in the reputation of ability.’ So in I. 33. 2 *ἀρετή* means ‘reputation for virtue.’ *ἀγώνισμα* is used by Herodotus in this sense.

ῥᾶσιν δὲ οἱ πολλοί. The difficulty of the sentence lies in the construction of *ὅτες*. It may perhaps be taken with *κέκληνται*. Krüger quotes from Menander *έαυτὸν οὐδεὶς ὄμολογει κακοῦργος ὡν*, and from

Xen. Cyr. I. 2. 2 φύσιν τῆς ψυχῆς . . . τοιαύτην ἔχων διαιμημονεύεται. In this case ῥᾶν means ‘more readily.’ Translate ‘most men more readily allow themselves to be called clever knaves than virtuous fools.’ Or, better, we may repeat ὄντες with ἀμαθεῖς; ‘most people more easily, when dishonest, gain credit for cleverness, than for goodness, when simple.’

τῷ μέν, by Chiasmus, ‘the latter.’

8 ἀρχή, ‘love of power.’

ἐκ δὲ αὐτῶν, κ.τ.λ. The predicate of the sentence must be supplied, αἰτίον ἦν. τὸ πράθυμον, ‘passionate zeal,’ is evidently used here of zeal for party. With καθισταμένων supply τῶν ἀνθρώπων. Translate ‘and keen party spirit also, born of these motives, when men have once got to enjoy the conflict.’

οἱ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι προστάντες. ἐκάτεροι the leaders of the democracy and the leaders of the oligarchy. μετ’ ὀνόματος εὐπρεποῦς, ‘by using specious names.’ These words are then enlarged in the following sentence which describes for what names the leaders professed preference. προτιμήσει, ‘by giving preference to,’ answers to μετ’ ὀνόματος, but is in a different construction. ισονομίας πολιτικῆς equality of citizens before the law. αὐτοκρατίας σώφρονος, ‘the sober government of the best,’ a title arrogated to itself by oligarchy which claimed σωφροσύνη as its characteristic feature. The meaning is that the leaders of either faction used specious substitutes for the bold names democracy and oligarchy. Translate ‘those who became leaders in the states, employing specious names in either faction, as they preferred the civic legal equality of the many or the sober government of the best, made prize of the common interest which they professed to serve?’

ἔτι μείζους. In reference to τὰ δεινότατα, hyperbolical.

οὐ μέχρι τοῦ δικαίου . . . προτιθέντες. προτιθέναι ζημίαν to set forth a penalty, affix it. Cf. 3. 44. 3 ἐσ τὸ λοιπὸν ἔνυμφέρον ἔτεσθι . . . θάνατον ζημίαν προθεῖσται. Diony. Hal. is the only authority for προστιθέντες, which is adopted by some editors. The meaning is that they did not affix their penalties within the limits set by justice and the interests of the state.

ἐσ δὲ τῷ . . . ὅρίζοντες. ἐσ, ‘in accordance with.’ ἡδονὴ has reference to the pleasure of revenge. ‘But determined them by the prevailing humour on either side from time to time.’

ἢ χειρὶ κτώμενοι τὸ κρατεῖν, ‘or in the effort to win power by force.’ The second alternative, as often, takes a new construction.

ἔτοιμοι ἥσαν, of inconsiderate recklessness, ‘it cost them nothing to gratify to the utmost the animosity of the moment.’

εὐσεβείᾳ . . . ἐνόμιζον. In giving to *νομίζω* the meaning and construction of *χρῆσθαι* Thucydides is following Herodotus. Cf. Her. 4. 63 ὅτι οὐτοὶ οὐδὲν νομίζουσι. 4. 117 φωνῇ οἱ Σαυρομάται νομίζουσι Σκυθικῇ. Cp. Thuc. 2. 38. Ι ἀγῶσι μέν γε καὶ θυσίαις διετησίοις νομίζοντες.

εὐπρεπείᾳ δὲ λόγου. Both parties were equally regardless of conscientious motives. The only distinction between them was made by the specious arguments used by one or the other to colour odious acts. Translate ‘but specious arguments won higher repute for those whom it befell to effect some odious purpose.’ As the text is punctuated we must take *εὐπρεπείᾳ λόγου* with the relative clause, which gives a weaker sense.

τὰ δὲ μέσα τῶν πολιτῶν. Those who took neither side. In 8. 75. I they are called *οἱ διὰ μέσου*.

φθόνῳ τοῦ περιεῖναι, ‘grudging that they should come out safe.’

83

Further description of the evils of party strife.

I καὶ τὸ εὐηθεῖς, κ.τ.λ., ‘and simplicity of which the noble nature most largely consists.’

τὸ δὲ ἀντιτετάχθαι. The perfect denotes the *attitude* of antagonism, the abiding results of a past action. *διήνεγκεν* stood out from others, ‘prevailed.’ ἐπὶ πολύ, ‘far and wide.’

2 λόγος ἔχυρός, ‘trustworthy promise.’

κρείσσους δὲ ὄντες . . . ἐδύναντο. This difficult passage has been variously explained, but no explanation is fully satisfactory. (a) One editor translates *κρείσσους* ἐσ τὸ ἀνέλπιστον, ‘better at despairing of,’ under the evil guidance of a scholiast who glosses *κρείσσους* ρέποντες. (b) Another takes *τοῦ βεβαιοῦ* for ἢ *τῷ βεβαιῷ* and translates ‘as all men found more strength to meet the unexpected in calculation than in the security of a pledge.’ But (c) it is evident that *τοῦ βεβαιοῦ* goes with ἐσ τὸ ἀνέλπιστον, and that these words refer to the previous sentence οὐ γὰρ ἦν, &c., and the sentence is intelligible enough without *κρείσσους* ὄντες, ‘all men in their calculations in view of the hopelessness of any security were rather careful not to suffer

disaster than were able to trust (any assurance).’ *παθεῖν* is used absolutely in 3. 38. 1; cf. also 2. 42. 4 καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἀμύνεσθαι καὶ *παθεῖν*, and it is easy to supply an object for *πιστεῦσαι* from the previous sentence. But what is the meaning of *κρείσσους ὅντες*? Some interpret ‘when stronger than their enemies,’ as though it were the strong who had a particular reason to take heed lest they should fall. Perhaps the words *κρείσσους ὅντες* contain corruption, and the true reading was some word that the gloss *ρέποντες* would fit. The infinitive after *προυσκόπουν* instead of *ὅπως* with the future is unusual.

3 οἱ φαυλότεροι γνώμην, ‘inferior minds.’

τῷ δεδιέναι, ‘owing to their fear?’

μὴ λόγοις . . . προεπιβουλευόμενοι, ‘lest in the war of words they should be outmatched by them, and in the war of plots should be the first to suffer outstripped by their nimble intellects.’

4 καταφρονοῦντες, ‘thinking in their pride that.’ Similarly we have *καταφρονεῖν* used in Herod. 1. 66 *καταφρονήσαντες Ἀρκάδων κρέσσοντες εἶναι*.

γνώμῃ, ‘by wit.’

μᾶλλον, ‘more than the others.’

84 The genuineness of this chapter has been disputed by most modern editors. In this they have followed the scholiast who writes that all commentators regarded the chapter as spurious owing to the obscurity of the style. Dionysius of Halicarnassus who has made a transcript of the rest of the digression stops here; and the old grammarians quote nothing from it. Expressions occur in it which seem to belong to a much later age. At the same time it seems to have been known to Josephus and Dio Cassius.

I οὐν, resumptive, ‘however that may be.’

αὐτῶν has a general, rather indistinct reference to the events narrated in the previous chapter.

προυτολμήθη, ‘were dared there before anywhere else.’

καὶ, ‘even.’

ὅπόσα . . . δράσειαν. Is this the optative of indefinite frequency? It might appear so from the tense of *παρασχόντων*, but in the next sentence we find *ἄν*, and the general context rather requires the meaning ‘all that men would be likely to do.’ This would

necessitate ὄπόσ' ἄν, which some editors read. *ἰπὸ τῶν . . . παρα-*
σχόντων depends on ἀρχόμενοι, ‘ruled over by men who suffer
 punishment.’ If we read ὄπόσ’ ἄν it is difficult to account for the
 tense.

πενίας δέ, κ.τ.λ. The verb of the sentence is *γιγνώσκουεν* ἄν.

μάλιστα δ' ἄν διὰ πάθους, *ἐπιθυμοῦντες*. The ἄν belongs to *γιγνώ-*
σκοτεινόντες. διὰ πάθους, ‘passionately,’ unclassical. *πάθος* in Thucydides
 always means misfortune. Some take the words with *ἐπιθυμοῦντες*
 and translate ‘and men are brought by misfortune to covet their
 neighbours’ goods.’

οἵ τε μή. *τε* introduces a third class.

ἀπὸ ισού, ‘from a position of equality.’

ἐπέλθοιεν. Supply ἄν from the previous part of the sentence.
 Translate ‘Now, in Corcyra, most of these deeds were dared for the
 first time—also the crimes that men would perpetrate who were re-
 venging themselves because they had been governed not with
 moderation, but with insolence, by men who now paid the penalty,
 and the dishonest designs men would form in their wish to get rid of
 their habitual poverty, and especially in their passionate desire
 to possess their neighbours’ goods, and the fierce implacable
 onslaughts men would make who attack not from covetousness,
 but as equals upon equals, carried away very far by undisciplined
 passion.’

2 *ἐς τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον* seems to mean ‘up to this point,’ but it is
 a strange meaning to give the words, at any rate in Thucydides.

ξυνταραχθέντος καὶ κρατήσασα. Another instance of the co-ordina-
 tion of words not grammatically co-ordinate.

εἰωθνία καὶ παρὰ τοὺς νόμους ἀδικεῖν. The meaning we expect, and
 that the writer wishes to convey, is ‘human nature that is accustomed
 to do wrong even in the teeth of the laws, i. e. even during the reign
 of law, much more when it has trampled law under its feet.’ But
 to a Greek these words would mean simply ‘to do wrong against
 the law,’ which is not the sense required. The writer is using the
 preposition in a sense that it perhaps bore in later Greek.

πολεμία τοῦ προύχοντος, ‘the foe of anything better than itself.’

οὐ γάρ ἄν, ‘for otherwise they would not have.’

ἐν φῷ μὴ . . . τὸ φθονεῖν = εἰ μὴ ἐν τούτῳ, ‘had not envy herein
 possessed a pernicious power.’

3 ἀξιοῦσί τε . . . αὐτῶν. The writer passes to a general reflection. *τε* is inferential, ‘and so.’ *τοὺς κοινοὺς νόμους*. The laws of common humanity. *περὶ τῶν τοιούτων*. Quarrels between fellow-citizens. *ἱπολείπεσθαι* transitive: cf. I. 140. 4 μηδέν ίμιν αὐτοῖς αἰτίαν ὑπολιπησθε. *εἴ ποτε*, ‘against the chance that ever.’ Translate ‘and so the universal laws that prevail on these subjects, from which there is a reserve of hope for all men, though they fall into misfortune, that they will yet themselves be saved, men dare to be the first to repeal in taking vengeance on their enemies, instead of leaving them in operation on the chance that some one of themselves may hereafter come into danger and need them.’

85 *Departure of Eurymedon.* *The expelled Coreyreans, who escaped the massacre, took possession of some forts on the mainland belonging to Corcyra and harried the island from them. They afterwards crossed over to Corcyra and established a fortified position on Mount Istone, having burnt their ships to cut off their retreat. They plundered the island for two years.*

1 *τοιαύταις*, predicate, ‘such were the passions that possessed them.’

ταῖς πρώταις. In this first stage of the history of the Corcyrean revolution, as opposed to the subsequent history related in 4. 46.

2 *οἰκείας.* As belonging to Corcyra.

ἔληζοντο. *ἔληζον* is found in a good many MSS., and occurs again in 4. 41. 2; but the active is found in no other writer, and the best MS. (C) has the middle.

3 *τοῦ ἄλλο τι ή κρατεῖν.* The formula *ἄλλο τι ή* is commonest in questions, equivalent to *nonne*. So *τι ἄλλο ή*; There is always an ellipse of some verb which can easily be supplied in thought. Here it is *ποιεῖν*.

86 *The Athenians send twenty ships under Laches to Sicily to help the Leontines against the Syracusans; partly to prevent the importation of food supplies from Sicily to the Peloponnese, partly to make a reconnaissance in view of future designs upon Sicily.*

2 *κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενές*, both were colonized from Chalcis.

- 3 οἱ τῶν Λεοντίνων ἔνυμαχοι, ‘the Leontini and their allies.’
πείθουσι, ‘urge.’
- 4 οἰκειότητος, ‘kinship.’
πρόπειραν, a rare word, used by Herodotus.
εἰ, ‘to see if.’
ποιούμενοι. We should expect ποιεῖσθαι. The sentence takes a new form as it proceeds.
- 5 καταστάντες ἐσ, ‘having established themselves in.’

87 *The plague recurs at Athens, and earthquakes take place in various parts of Greece.*

- 1 τὸ παντάπασιν is only here so written with the article. We have, however, analogous expressions in τὸ παράπαν, τὸ ἔνυμπαν.
ἐκλιποῦσα μὲν . . . ἐγένετο δέ. Cf. note on 3. 81. 4.
- 2 ὥστε Ἀθηναίους γε . . . τὴν δύναμιν. Some important MSS. read Ἀθηναίων γε μὴ εἴηται ὅτι μᾶλλον ἐκάκωσε τὴν δύναμιν. The reading in the text is the reading of others, save that τοίτοις appears instead of τοίτον. But in C the σ is almost erased. The reading in the text is more likely to be right, as it would be easier to omit than insert ἐπίεσε, and when it was omitted Ἀθηναίους would be changed to Ἀθηναίων to suit the grammar.
- 3 ἐκ τῶν τάξεων, i. e. ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου, the roll of those available for service in the three highest property classes.
τοῦ ἄλλου ὄχλου. The Thetes, resident aliens and slaves, of whom no register was kept.
- 4 οἱ πολλοὶ σεισμοὶ τότε τῆς γῆς. The reading of C is preferable to οἱ πολλοὶ τότε σεισμοί. τότε must be taken with ἐγένοντο. οἱ, ‘the well-known.’

88 *The Athenians make an expedition against the Lipari islands, but effect nothing.*

- 1 τοῦ αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος. The genitive of ‘time within which.’
2 ἐκ ταύτης δρμώμενοι, ‘making this their base.’

89 *The Lacedaemonian invasion of Attica is arrested by earthquakes. Thucydides mentions inundations caused by earthquakes, and speculates as to their cause.*

- 2 κατεχόντων, ‘prevailing.’

τῆς Εύβοίας, κ.τ.λ. The MSS. read ἐπελθοῖσα, but the scholiast evidently had ἐπανελθοῦσα which is required by the sense. This is confirmed by ἐπαναχώρησίς τις in § 4. κυματωθεῖσα is not used again till the later writers. ὑπένοστησε is a Herodotean word. κατέκλυσε = κατάκλυσιν ἐποίησατο. μέρος τι, 'a great part.' Translate 'in Orobiae in Euboea the sea retired from what was then the shore, and, rising in a head of water, encroached on a considerable part of the city, and, though in part it subsided, in part it caused an inundation, and what was before land is now sea.'

3 **τοῦ τε φρουρίου,** 'part of the fort.'

5 **αἴτιον δ'** ἔγωγε νομίζω. The subject of ἀποστέλλειν is τὸν σεισμόν which has been drawn into the relative clause. With ποιεῖν the subject changes to θάλασσαν. There is no reason to conjecture ἐπισπωμένης, or to adopt ἐπισπώμενον from the scholiast. What is the construction of αἴτιον? It cannot be masculine, agreeing with σεισμόν, as in that case σεισμός would not have occurred in the relative sentence. We may either say that it is the predicate of the sentence with εἰναι understood, the subject being the infinitive clause (for the more usual τὸ ἀποστέλλειν); or regard it, with one editor, as an accusative in apposition to the sentence. Cf. 1. 23. 6 **τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἀληθεστάτην πρόφασιν, ἀφανεστάτην δὲ λόγῳ, τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἥγονται μεγάλους γιγνομένους καὶ φόβον παρέχοντας τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀναγκάσαι ἐσ τὸ πολεμεῖν.**

90 Returning to Sicily Thucydides relates the reduction of Mylae and Messene by Laches.

I **καὶ ἄλλοι.** The meaning would be clearer if Thucydides had written ἄλλα for ἄλλοι. To the operations of the Siceliots against one another and of the Athenians aided by their allies, he opposes the most noteworthy successes or reverses of the Athenians with their allies. ἄλλοι is therefore explained by καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ Σικελιῶται καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι and is irregularly answered by ἀ δὲ λογον, &c. The irregularity is no doubt due to a change of the writer's intention.

ἀντιπόλεμοι (Pollux's correction of the MSS. ἀντιπολέμοι) is a Herodotean word that does not occur in Attic again.

2 **δύο φυλαί.** Civic divisions are kept up in the army.

4 **πιστά.** Predicative.

91 *An unsuccessful expedition is made by the Athenians against Melos. Afterwards sea and land forces unite in a descent on Tanagra.*

3 τῆς Γραικῆς. The MSS. here read τῆς πέραν γῆς. Possibly Oropus, from being situated opposite to Euboea, was so commonly called ἡ πέραν γῆ, that the expression passed into a name. In 2. 23. 3 we have παριόντες δὲ Ὁρωπὸν τὴν γῆν τὴν Πειραιϊκὴν καλούμενην ἦν νέμονται Ὁρώπιοι, and there is some reason to suppose a connexion between Πειραιϊκή and ἡ πέραν γῆ. On the other hand Stephan of Byzantium attests that the region was called ἡ Γραική, and on his authority editors have altered the reading here and in 2. 23. 3.

92 *At the request of the Trachinians the Lacedaemonians found the colony of Heracleia near Thermopylae.*

3 Δωριῆς, ἡ μητρόπολις. Doris the mother state of the Lacedaemonians : cf. I. 107. 2.

τῶν αὐτῶν, viz. aid from Sparta.

4 γνώμην εἶχον, 'determined.'

τὴν ἀποικίαν. The colony already mentioned at the beginning of the chapter.

καὶ ἄμα τοῦ πρὸς . . . καθίστασθαι, 'and at the same time they thought the founding of the city was favourable for carrying on the war against the Athenians.' In verbs that signify that something *is being done or made*, the present is used with much the same sense as the future; 'Quod enim fit non est sed erit.' The genitive stands with the adverb *καλῶς* as in I. 22. 3 ὡς ἐκατέρων τις εὐνοίας ἡ μνήμης ἔχοι. I. 36. 2 τῆς τε γὰρ Ἰταλίας καὶ Σικελίας καλῶς παράπλου κεῖται. The genitive denotes that in respect to which the foundation was favourable.

ἐπὶ τῇ Εὐβοίᾳ, 'for an attack on Euboea.'

παρασκευασθῆναι ἀν depends on ἐδύκει. We learn from other sources that there was wood in the neighbourhood for ship building.

ἐκ βραχέος, 'from a position quite near.'

τῆς παρόδου. See note just above on τοῦ πολέμου.

5 τὸν θεὸν ἐπήροντο. The oracle was always consulted at the founding of colonies.

6 καταστάντες, ‘on arriving’ or ‘setting to.’

εἰρξαν τὸ κατὰ Θερμοπύλας, ‘they fortified the side looking to Thermopylae, to the actual pass,’ i.e. they renewed the old fortifications which the Phocians had established for defence against the Thessalians. The MSS. all, with one exception, read ἤρξαντο κατὰ Θερμοπύλας, which would mean ‘they began the works close by Thermopylae, by the actual pass.’ But why should they have made the arsenal of the new town at a place so distant as Thermopylae? Moreover the words ὅπως εἰφύλακτα εἴη refer to some fortification of which, with the reading ἤρξαντο, we have no hint.

εὐφύλακτα εἴη. The impersonal use of the neuter plural.

93 Colonists flocked here attracted by the prestige of Sparta, but the colony suffered severely from the hostility of its powerful neighbours and the misgovernment of its Spartan magistrates.

1 ἔδεισάν, ‘took alarm.’

ἀπέβη. Either impersonal or the subject is τοῦτο, the founding of the colony.

2 αἴτιον δὲ ἦν. Are we to treat this sentence as paralleled by 3. 89. 5, and take αἴτιον ἦν as the predicate of the sentence οἵ τε Θεσσαλοὶ . . . ἔφθειρον? We have in Dem. 8. 32 αἴτιον δὲ τούτων παρεσκευάκασιν ὑμᾶς where however αἴτιον might be an accusative, like τὸ λεγόμενον, standing in apposition to the meaning of the sentence. A better parallel is Aristid. 1. p. 204 αἴτιον δὲ ἦν, οὕτε ἔκεινοι ἄρχειν ἡπισταντο οὕτε οἱ ἀρχομένοι τὸ ἀκόλουθον ἀπεπλήρουν. It is hardly possible to take αἴτιον ἦν as an independent sentence without a following γάρ or some other particle to relieve the abruptness of the asyndeton. It is possible that this is another example of change of purpose in the writer, who began with a participle in his mind but changed to the finite verb in ἔφθειρον as he proceeded.

οἵ τε Θεσσαλοί. τε according to the scholiast is answered by καὶ ὁν equivalent to κάκεῖνοι ὁν. If the antecedent is ἔκεινοι it will probably refer to the Euboeans or the Oetaeans. But it is impossible to resist the impression that Thucydides intended to give two reasons for the failure of the colony; (1) the hostility of the Thessalians; (2) the misgovernment of the governors. If this

is so, $\tau\epsilon$ will be followed by $\text{o}\bar{\nu} \mu\acute{e}ntoi \bar{\eta}kist\bar{\alpha}$, just as it is sometimes followed by $\delta\acute{e}$. What then is the antecedent of $\bar{\omega}\nu$? Probably the Thessalians, to the injury of whose land the colony was founded. If that is so, $\kappa\acute{a}i$ couples two clauses logically but not grammatically co-ordinate.

$\bar{\epsilon}v \delta\bar{u}n\acute{a}mer\bar{e} \bar{\sigma}ntes \tau\bar{w}n \tau a\bar{u}nt\bar{u} \chi\bar{w}r\bar{w}n$, ‘being powerful over these districts,’ is a very unusual form of expression. The districts were within their sphere of influence, though technically autonomous.

$\nu\acute{e}o\bar{k}atast\acute{a}t\bar{o}i\bar{s}$ is only found here till we come to later writers.

94 Demosthenes with the Acarnanians ravages the territory of Leucas.

He offends the Acarnanians by declining the siege of Leucas, and is persuaded by the Messenians to march against Aetolia.

I $\tau\bar{h}s \Lambda\bar{e}ukad\bar{h}s$. Almost all the MSS. have $\Lambda\bar{e}ukad\bar{h}s$, but the sense seems to require the reading $\Lambda\acute{e}ukad\bar{h}s$ which is preserved in one MS.

3 The Messenians were naturally anxious that Demosthenes should invade the Aetolian tribes who were a constant menace to their neighbours. The scheme finally adopted by Demosthenes was first to attack the central Aetolian tribes, to force into an alliance all the tribes between the Ambracian Gulf and Mount Parnassus. With this large continental force he hoped to march through the Ozolian Locrians to Cytinium in Doris, from thence to Phocis, and aided by the Phocians to invade Boeotia. It was unquestionably a great scheme but it miscarried, partly from want of common prudence, partly from the geographical difficulties of an unknown country.

$\text{Naupakt}\bar{w} \tau\epsilon \text{pol}\acute{e}m\bar{i}o\bar{s} \text{o}\bar{u}st\bar{i} \kappa\acute{a}l \dots \pi\bar{r}o\bar{s}pou\bar{h}se\bar{v}$. A good instance of Thucydides’ tendency to disregard grammatical symmetry if the thought of his sentence is clear. The two grounds for Demosthenes’ action, which, though not grammatically co-ordinate, are connected by $\tau\epsilon$, are clear enough. The Aetolians were the enemies of the Messenians in Naupactus, and Demosthenes had a chance of subduing the other continental tribes of this district. The infinitive $\pi\bar{r}o\bar{s}pou\bar{h}se\bar{v}$ is in Oratio Obliqua depending on the verb of saying implied in $\bar{\alpha}nat\bar{e}i\bar{h}etai$. Cf. 4. 3. 3 $\tau\bar{w} \delta\acute{e} \delta\bar{u}i\bar{h}for\bar{o}n \tau\bar{e}$ $\bar{\epsilon}d\bar{u}k\bar{e}i \bar{e}in\bar{u} t\bar{o}u\bar{t}o \tau\bar{w} \chi\bar{w}r\bar{w}on \bar{\acute{e}}t\bar{e}r\bar{o}n \mu\bar{a}ll\bar{o}r$, $\lambda\bar{i}m\acute{e}nos \tau\epsilon \pi\bar{r}o\bar{s}e\bar{nt}os \kappa\acute{a}l$ $t\bar{o}u\bar{s} \text{Me}\bar{s}t\bar{h}n\bar{i}ous \text{o}\bar{k}e\bar{i}ous \bar{\sigma}ntas \dots \pi\bar{l}e\bar{i}st'$ $\bar{\alpha}n \beta\bar{l}a\bar{p}te\bar{v} \bar{\epsilon}x \bar{a}nt\bar{o}u\bar{d} \bar{\delta}r\bar{m}w\bar{m}e\bar{n}ous$.

- 4 διδ πολλοῦ, 'far apart.'
- 5 Εἰρυτᾶσιν, ὅπερ μέγιστον. Sometimes the relative is attracted into the gender of the following predicate.
- ἀγνωστότατοι γλῶσσαν. A strange phrase, but the meaning is clear enough.

95 *The details of his plan of campaign.*

- 1 οὐ ἐδόκουν ξυστρατεύειν. The MSS. have ξυστρατεύειν with one exception M which reads ξυστρατεῦσαι. We should probably read ξυστρατεύειν. See note on 3. 24. 1. In the last sentence of the chapter, μεγάλη ὡφελία ἐδόκουν εἶναι ξυστρατεύοντες, the thought is obviously of a future event, and we should expect ξυστρατεύοντες. Perhaps the present is used when the event is regarded as certain.

ἢ καν βίᾳ προσαχθῆναι. Of a less probable but still possible contingency.

ἥδη, 'at this point.'

οὖν is resumptive.

- 2 τὴν οὐ περιτείχισιν. Cf. I. 137. 4 τὴν τῶν γεφυρῶν οὐ διάλυσιν.

5. 50. ἢ οὐκ ἔξουσία.

τοῖς ἐπιβάταις. The epibatae were soldiers serving on shipboard, 'marines.' As a rule they were taken from the Thetes. On this occasion, we learn from c. 98, they included some of the choice hoplites of the muster roll.

96 *He marches into Actolia and takes several places. The Aetolians muster against him.*

- 1 χρησθὲν . . . παθεῖν. χρησθὲν the accusative absolute. The passive participle is used impersonally.

- 2 τὴν γὰρ γνώμην . . . ὑστερον. οὗτος marks the participle καταστρεψάμενος as emphatic, 'he determined to subdue all the other positions before he advanced against the Ophioneis.' ἐσ Ναύπακτον ἐπαναχωρήσας is added as an afterthought. He must also first retire to Naupactus.

- 3 οὔτε ὅτε . . . ἐπειδή τε. The sentence changes as it proceeds. Instead of the second οὔτε clause, which was intended at first, a positive independent sentence takes its place, as though οὐκ ἐλάνθανεν only had been written.

ἐπεβουλεύετο, sc. ἢ παρασκευῆ.

97 Demosthenes takes Aegitium by assault. But the Aetolians who had collected charge down from the hills.

- 1 τὴν ἐν ποσὶν αἰεί, ‘every village that came in their way.’
 2 τῇ τύχῃ ἐλπίσας. The dative gives the grounds of his hope.
 ἐφ’ ὑψηλῶν χωρίων, ‘in the neighbourhood of high country.’ It does not follow that the town itself was on a high position. The plural *χωρίων* would be difficult if *ἐπί* meant ‘on,’ and the city was itself clearly overhung by high ground.

98 And after a prolonged engagement Demosthenes is defeated with great loss. He is afraid to return to Athens, and remains in the neighbourhood of Naupactus.

- 1 αὐτοῖς. A dative of general reference. *αὐτοῖς* are the people interested or concerned. Translate ‘on the side of the Athenians.’
 οἱ δέ. The apodosis.
 αὐτοί. The hoplites.
 καὶ ἐπὶ πολύ, ‘for quite a long time.’
 αὐτοῖς. See note at beginning of the chapter.
 2 αὐτοῦ, ‘those on the spot.’ κατὰ πόδας, ‘immediately.’
 4 τοσοῦτοι μὲν . . . διεφθάρησαν. *τοσοῦτοι* and *ἡλικία* ἡ αἰτή stand in predicative apposition to *οὗτοι*. *βέλτιστοι* stands predicatively with *διεφθάρησαν*. *ἡλικία* the collective singular for the plural means more than *όμιλοι*. *ἡλικία* was the military age, the prime of life. Cf. 8. 75. 3 οἱ ἐν ἡλικίᾳ. 7. 60. 3 *ἡλικίας μετέχων*. Translate ‘in such numbers and all of the same prime these men perished, the best that perished in this war out of the city of the Athenians.’ The sentence is very compressed.
 5 τοῖς πεπραγμένοις. Gives the motive of his fear.

99 The Athenians make a descent on Locris and capture a fort on the river Halyx.

100 At the request of the Aetolians the Spartans send 3000 hoplites against Naupactus under Eurylochus.

- 1 πρότερον. Probably refers to a time before the expedition of the Athenians. Perhaps, as Arnold suggests, the expedition itself was designed to free the allies of the Athenians from the attacks

of their enemies who were at the same time imploring aid of Sparta.

διὰ τὴν . . . ἐπαγωγήν. The summoning of the Athenians by the inhabitants of Naupactus to attack the Aetolians. Cf. 3. 94. 3.

2 καὶ ξυνηκολούθουν. The so-called ἐφηρημένοι. Cf. c. 109. It was the Spartan custom to send three generals on an expedition that a force might not be left at a loss if a general fell.

101 *Eurylochus marches through the Ozolian Locrians greatly assisted by the Amphissians, who persuaded the other tribes to give hostages and reinforcements to the expedition.*

2 διὰ τὸ . . . δεδιότες. In 3. 95. 1 we find the Phocians mentioned as constant friends of the Athenians, although the words ἡ καν βίᾳ προσαχθῆναι suggest that they might need compulsion to aid Demosthenes. But in 2. 9. 2 they are mentioned among the allies of Sparta, and in 4. 118. 2 it is intimated that the Spartans were friendly with them. It is probable then that the Amphissians, being enemies of the Phocians, joined the Spartans to save themselves from a combined attack of Phocians and Spartans.

καὶ αὐτοὶ πρῶτοι. The MSS. have *πρῶτον* but the correction is tempting. Thucydides obviously means that they were the first to give hostages themselves and persuaded the others also to give them.

μὲν οὖν, ‘accordingly,’ without a new verb is unusual.

102 *Demosthenes with a force of Acarnanians throws himself into Naupactus and saves it. Eurylochus marches into Aetolia, where he is persuaded by the Ambraciots to hold himself ready to join in an attack on Amphilochian Argos and Acarnania.*

1 αὐτῶν, ‘of the Locrians.’

2 καὶ οἱ Αἰτωλοί is coupled with *οἱ μετὰ Εὐρυλόχου* implied in *γενόμενοι*.

3 μετὰ τὰ ἐκ τῆς Αἰτωλίας. Aetolia was the source of the disaster. The preposition might even point to his retreat from Aetolia. For this commodious pregnant use cf. 6. 89. 2 *τὴν ἐκ Πύλου ξυμφοράν.* 4. 81. 2 *τὸν μετὰ τὰ ἐκ Σικελίας πόλεμον.*

4 ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν. What were these ships? We know the thirty ships of Demosthenes’ command have returned home (c. 98); and if the Acarnanians possessed ships the fact would not be mentioned so

allusively. But from c. 105 we learn that there were Athenian ships about the Peloponnese which afterwards did the Acarnanians good service.

- 7 τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς ἀφεῖς. The Aetolians, who had come to join in the attack upon Naupactus, return home.

ἔως τοῖς Ἀμπρακιώταις ἐκστρατευσαμένοις, ‘until it should be the right time to bring help to the Ambraciots when they had started on their expedition,’ i.e. the right moment is defined by *ἐκστρατευσαμένοις*.

περὶ τὸ Ἀργος goes with βοηθεῖν.

- 103 The Athenians with allies attack Inessa in Sicily but are beaten off with loss. Afterwards the Athenians make a descent on Locris and kill 300 Locrians.

- 1 μετὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ξυμμάχων. The Siceliots or Greek inhabitants of Sicily.

καὶ ὅσοι . . . ξυνεπολέμουν. The order of words in this sentence is clumsy, and possibly ἀπὸ Συρακοσίων is a gloss. ἀρχόμενοι and ὄντες are imperfects, prior in time to ἀποστάντες. αὐτοῖς belongs to ξυνεπολέμουν. Translate ‘and all the Sicels who, being formerly ruled by the Syracusans with harshness, and being their allies, revolted from them and fought on the Athenian side.’

ἐπ' Ἰνησσαν after ἐπελθόντες. The name is preserved in only one MS., but it is confirmed by 6. 94. 3. When Hiero's mercenaries were expelled from Aetna (founded by him near Catana), they took up an old Sicel site called Inessa, which they christened afresh after the name of their old town Aetna. Thucydides continues to call the town by its old name—Inessa.

τὸ Σικελικὸν πόλισμα. The article, because it was their principal fortress.

- 2 ἵστεροις Ἀθηναίων, ‘who were retreating after the Athenians.’

- 1 The purification of Delos was undertaken probably to propitiate Apollo to whose anger the plague was ascribed.
- 2 τὴν πεντετηρίδα, ‘the ancient Delian festival, once the common point of meeting and solemnity for the whole Ionic race, and celebrated for its musical contests, before the Lydian and Persian

conquests had subverted the freedom and prosperity of Ionia—was now renewed' (Grote).

3 ἐθεώρουν, 'they would come to the spectacle.'

χοροὺς ἀνήγον, 'celebrated dances,' lit. led choruses into the presence of the gods.

4 προοιμίου Ἀπόλλωνος, 'the hymn to Apollo.' The hymns were called *προοίμια* because they were sung before other poems, i.e. used by the rhapsodists as preludes to their rhapsodies.

ἀλλ' ὅτε. Our text of the hymn shows ἀλλὰ σύ.

ἀγυιάν. The sacred road leading to the temple.

μνησάμενοι, 'making mention of thee.'

5 τοῦ ἔπαινου. See note on 3. 59. 3.

ὑποκρίνασθαι. The infinitive for the imperative.

ἀφήμως. Mr. T. W. Allen in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. xvii. p. 245. 6, contends that ἀφήμως is the right reading and gives the better sense. But the natural meaning of ἀφήμως is not what is required here and most editors, with good reason, adopt εὐφήμως.

6 ἐτεκμηρίωσεν. A word peculiar to Thucydides and the post-classical writers. It is equivalent to διὰ τεκμηρίου ἐδήλωσεν.

μεθ' ιερῶν, 'with sacred observances.'

καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα, 'for quite the most part,' or (better) 'and the greater part of the observances.'

105 *The Ambraciots invade Amphilochian Argos and take Olphæ. The Acarnanians rally to the help of Argos and endeavour to cut off Eurylochus from the Ambraciots. They send for assistance to Demosthenes and the Athenian ships. The Ambraciots summon reinforcements from Ambracia.*

I ὥσπερ ὑποσχόμενοι κατέσχον. ὥσπερ must be taken only with ὑποσχόμενοι, 'in accordance with the promise by which they had detained.' They had persuaded Eurylochus to remain by promising to take part in the expedition.

δ. When an object is governed both by a participle and a verb it is usually put in the case demanded by the nearer of the two.

κοινῷ δικαστηρίῳ ἔχρωντο. In 2. 68 where Thucydides relates the founding of Amphilochian Argos we learn that the Amphilochians,

when expelled from their city by the Ambraciots, called in the Acarnanians and, aided by them and the Athenians, recaptured Argos. Then he adds *κοινῷ φύκισαν αὐτὸν Ἀμφιλόχοι καὶ Ἀκαρνᾶνες*, pointing to the formation of a common league between these two nations. It is tempting to suppose that Olpae, three miles distant, was on this occasion fortified by the Acarnanians, and used as a place of judicial tribunal common to them and the Amphilochians. This is confirmed by a remark of Stephan of Byzantium, "Ολπαι φρούριον κοινὸν Ἀκαρνάνων καὶ Ἀμφιλόχων δικαστήριον, Θουκιδίδης τρίτη." But it is questionable whether *κοινῷ* standing alone can bear this meaning, and it is probable that *καὶ Ἀμφιλόχοι* has fallen out after *Ἀκαρνᾶνες*. The alternative view is that on some other occasion the Acarnanians took possession of Olpae and used it as the common tribunal of *their own* confederacy.

4 ἐς τὴν πόλιν. Ambracia.

106 *Eurylochus crosses Acarnania by a forced march and joins the Ambraciots.*

2 *καὶ αὐθις . . . παρ' ἔσχατα*, 'after that along the boundaries of.' Expressions of locality, especially with prepositions, often omit the article.

3 *'Αγραικόν*. The MSS. have *ἀγροῖκον*, but no appropriate sense is conveyed by the word.

107 *Describes the formation of the two armies at Olpae.*

1 *καθίζουσι* is more often transitive in Thucydides.

3 *προσαγαγών* is only here thus used without an object.
περιέσχε, 'outflanked him.'

ἡμέρας μὲν πέντε. Either the sacrifices were unfavourable, or neither liked to be the first to force the passage of the steep ravine.

ὅπως κατὰ τὸ . . . γίγνωνται, 'in order that these at the very moment of conflict might break out on the rear over against that part of the enemy which overlapped them.'

4 *ὡς ἔκαστοι τεταγμένοι*. The full phrase would be *ὡς ἔκαστοι ἔταχατο τεταγμένοι*, and there are places where this expression occurs where we actually find a verb supplied. The meaning is 'severally,' 'one by one.' They were divided by tribes, each under

its own leader. The sentence *τὸ δὲ ἄλλο . . . ἐπεῖχον* is grammatically a parenthesis.

οὐ τὸ κέρας ἄκρον ἔχοντες. ἄκρον is predicative, ‘they were not posted on the extremity of the wing.’

58 *Thanks to an ambush set by Demosthenes his forces won the day, and drove the enemy with severe loss into Olpae.*

I *τῷ κέρᾳ*, ‘with their wing.’

ἐκυκλοῦντο, ‘were in act to surround.’

ἔσ αλκήν ύπομενατι, ‘did not stand their ground to resist.’ *ἀλκή* is a poetic word used by Xenophon and Thucydides, not by the other Attic prose writers. Thucydides follows Herodotus, using the word in two senses (1) ‘strength’ or ‘prowess,’ cf. 3. 30. 2 (note), and 4. 32. 4 *τοξεύμασι καὶ ἀκοντίοις καὶ λίθοις καὶ σφενδόναις ἐκ πολλοῦ ἔχοντες ἀλκήν.* So Hdt. 3. 110 *θηρία ἔσ αλκήν ἄλκιμα.* (2) as here ‘resistance’: cf. Hdt. 2. 45 *ἔσ αλκήν τραπόμενον.*

τὸ κατ' Εύρυλοχον, ‘the troops in the neighbourhood of’ so ‘under the command of?’

τοῦ ἔργου, ‘military action,’ as often.

ἐπεξῆλθον is better supported than *ἐξῆλθον*, which is found in some MSS.

2 *ἀπεδίωξαν*, ‘chased away.’ The word is rare, but cf. 6. 102. 3 *τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀποδιωξάντων τοὺς ἔκει.*

3 *σφίσι.* As though the sentence ran *καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους σφίσι προσκειμένους.*

ἐπαναχωροῦντες δὲ . . . πλὴν Μαντινίων. This passage is not quite easy. The subject with which *ἐπαναχωροῦντες* agrees is the Ambraciots and those on the right wing. But when we get to the verb we find that the subject has expanded in the writer’s mind, for the Mantineans were not on the right wing. Consequently *χαλεπῶς διεσώζοντο* and *πολλοὶ ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν* refer to the whole force. What then is the meaning of *προσπίπτοντες*? It should mean ‘making their attack,’ and so the scholiast explains it. Yet this is inconsistent with the next clause which relates the orderly behaviour of the Mantineans *in retreat*. Hence some translate ‘as they hastened into Olpae’: but for this meaning we should rather expect *ἐσπίπτοντες*.

ἔτελεύτα ἐς ὁψέ. Cf. 3. 78. 4. Some MSS. show *ἔως ὁψέ*, which is interpreted ‘lasted till late and ended late.’

109 *The Lacedaemonians make a private treaty with Demosthenes to go off, deserting their allies.*

- I πολιορκήσεται, ‘stand a siege’: cf. 3. 52. I.
 2 ἀναχώρησιν δέ, κ.τ.λ., ‘they made a compact for retreat,’ i.e. ‘granted retreat by compact.’ The accusative expresses the kind of action denoted by the verb: see note on 3. 24. I.

Δημοσθένης μετὰ τῶν . . . σπένδονται. A very rare but natural construction.

τὸν ξενικόν exactly repeats τὸν μισθοφόρον ὥχλον, and may be a gloss. Obviously these are mercenaries of the Ambraciots. The Lacedaemonians would not have left their own behind.

διαβαλεῖν, ‘discredit.’ We find it also followed by a dative.

χρηζῶν, ‘wishing.’ A Herodotean use which occurs in Thucydides only here.

προυργαιτέρον, comparative of προύργον, ‘they counted their own interests of greater moment.’

- 3 ὥσπερ ὑπῆρχε, ‘as they had the means,’ ‘as well as circumstances permitted’: usually ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων.

καὶ τὴν ἀποχώρησιν. This cowardly perfidy of the Spartan commander and Lacedaemonian officers was quite in accordance with Spartan tradition. Grote notices it ‘as an example of that intra-Peloponnesian selfishness . . . which was found so lamentably prevalent during the invasion of Xerxes; in this case indeed heightened by the fact that the men deserted were fellow-Dorians and fellow soldiers.’

110 *Demosthenes, hearing that Ambraciots are coming to reinforce the Peloponnesian and Ambraciot army, sends a force to cut them off.*

III *The Mantineans and Peloponnesians, with whom the secret treaty had been made, endeavour to withdraw unnoticed. Noticing this the Ambraciots and others hastened after them. The Arcanians at first suspected treachery and pursued all alike, but on being reassured they allowed the Mantineans and Peloponnesians to get off and killed the others.*

- I δῆθεν, ‘as they professed.’

ὅσοι μὲν ἔτυγχανον οὕτως ἀθρόοι ξυνεξελθόντες. We must suppose

that the Ambraciots and their allies marched out together, either really to do what the others pretended to do, i. e. gather wood and vegetables, or to serve these as a guard against hostile attack. It is obvious that the whole force did so march out. Otherwise they could hardly have observed the Lacedaemonians making off or have started to catch them. And they succeeded in catching them up as we learn from § 4 καὶ ἦν πολλὴ ἔρις καὶ ἄγνοια εἴτε Ἀμπρακιώτης τίς ἐστιν εἴτε Πελοποννήσιος. But there is no doubt that Thucydides has expressed himself obscurely through carelessness or love of brevity. He tells us in a relative clause an important fact which should have been related by itself, and which, it is possible, he thought he had so related, since οὗτως refers back to ἐξελθόντες as though we had there been told that the Ambraciots also went out. There remain some points of difficulty, (1) ξυνεξελθόντες, the reading of the best MSS., refers back to ἐξελθόντες; (2) we find an aorist participle joined with the imperfect of *τυγχάνω* contrary to the ordinary rule that in this construction the aorist coincides with the time of the principal verb. But it has been shown (see Goodwin's *Moods and Tenses*, p. 50) that there is a rare combination of aorist participles with present or imperfect of *τυγχάνω*, *φθάνω*, &c., where the aorist retains its own reference to past time: cf. Thuc. 8. 105. 3 ἐτύγχανον καὶ αὐτοὶ ἥδη τοῖς περὶ τὸν Θράσυλλον ἐνδεδωκότες καὶ μᾶλλον ἐσ φυγὴν ὄρμήσαντες. So here translate 'who happened to have come forth together'; (3) *μέν* is misplaced. We should expect *οἱ μέν Ἀμπρακιῶται καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι* answered by *οἱ δὲ Ακαρνᾶνες*.

The passage has been variously corrected: e.g.—

- (1) ὅσοι μένοντες ἐτύγχανον οὗτως, ἀθρόοι ξυνεξελθόντες.
- (2) ὅσοι μονούμενοι ἐτύγχανον οὗτως, ἀθρόοι ξυνεξελθόντες.
- (3) ὅσοι μὴ ἐτύγχανον τούτοις ἀθρόοι ξυνεξελθόντες.

Of these (2) is best.

3 σφᾶς is used because the speaker was one of those to whom the pronoun refers.

4 τινάς, 'about.'

II.2 Demosthenes attacks the Ambraciots coming from Ambracia at the hill Idomene. He surprises them by a night attack and defeats them with great slaughter. The Acarnanians return to Argos.

I ἐστόν. When the subject and predicate of a sentence are of

different numbers, the verb sometimes agrees with the predicate. Cf. 4. 102. 3 *οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔκτισαν τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο, ὅπερ πρότερον Ἐννέα ὄδοι ἐκαλοῦντο.*

ἢλαθόν τε καὶ ἴφθασαν προκαταλαβόντες, 'seized unnoticed and unforestalled.'

τὸν δὲ ἐλάσσων. Nowhere else does Thucydides use the simple accusative after *ἀναβαίνειν*, a construction which is found in the poets and post-classical writers.

2 ἐπὶ τῆς ἐσβολῆς, 'towards the pass.' The word is so used in Herodotus.

3 ὥρθρῳ. The last watch of the night, just before the dawn.

4 τῇ ὥψῃ might refer to the Messenians' 'appearance,' or to the Ambraciots' 'eyes.'

7 ἅμα τοῦ ἡργου τῇ ξυντυχίᾳ, 'at the same time when the action was taking place.'

113 Description of the great slaughter of the Ambraciots and of the herald's surprise who had not heard of the night attack.

1 **ξυνεξήσαν.** The imperfect does not express the attempt which, as we have seen, was effective. It relates only to the duration of the action.

3 **θαυμάζοι . . . τεθνᾶσιν.** The combination of these two words in Oratio Obliqua is not uncommon. The indicative is merely a more vivid form of expression than the optative, with no difference of meaning.

4 **οὐκουν τὰ ὄπλα ταυτὶ φαίνεται,** 'these arms then do not look like it.' Some editors expect a genitive with *ὄπλα*, and suggest that *σ'* (= *διακοσίων*) has fallen out.

εἴπερ γε, 'yes, but they are if.'

καὶ μὲν δή. A strong asseveration, 'all I can say is that.'

6 **πάθος γάρ τοῦτο . . . ἐγένετο.** Literally 'this, as a disaster, fell upon a single Hellenic city, greatest of all in this war in the same number (i. e. three) of days,' i. e. 'this was a greater disaster than any that befell any single Hellenic city in this war in the same number of days.'

It is clear from what follows that nearly all the fighting population of Ambracia was slain, but it is impossible to appreciate the

full bearing of the comparison here drawn by Thucydides, because in this part of the history, as we have seen, he means by ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ the first ten years of the war which ended with the Peace of Nicias.

· ἀριθμόν. Taking as the basis of his calculation the number of panoplies given to Demosthenes Grote calculates the number of slain at 6000.

διότι ἄπιστον . . . τῆς πόλεως. ἄπιστον is predicative, ‘because the numbers which are related to have perished are incredible, that is in relation to the size of the city.’

νῦν δέ, ‘but as it was.’

πάροικοι. A poetical word only used by Thucydides here. Grote thinks that this was not their only reason for refusing the advice of the Athenians. The same apprehension should have prevented them from asking for Athenian aid to reduce Leucas which was nearer. He suggests that the Acarnanians still resented the former refusal of Athenian aid. It is as likely that since they had asked the Athenians for aid against Leucas they had seen more of them and had come to realize that they might be unpleasant neighbours.

II4 Demosthenes returns to Athens with rich spoils. A treaty of peace is made between the Ambraciots on the one side and the Acarnanians and Amphilochians on the other.

I πλέοντα. On the sea voyage to Athens.

καὶ ἐγένετο ἄμα . . . κάθοδος. For τὴν ἐκ τῆς Αἰτωλίας the reading of the best MSS. see note on 3. 102. 3. ἀδεεστέρα, ‘attended with less fear.’ ἀπὸ ταύτης, ‘in consequence of this.’ ἢ κάθοδος is always used of a return from exile—here of his return from a self-imposed exile.

2 οἵτε καὶ μετανίστησαν παρὰ Σαλυνθίου is the now generally accepted correction of the MSS. reading. Here again with a certain slovenliness of composition Thucydides puts in a relative clause a fact which we should expect to be stated independently. Translate ‘whither they had removed from Salynthius.’ They needed this permission since they had no ships to take them home by sea.

3 ἐπὶ τοῖσδε. The Acarnanians should not be required to assist

the Ambraciots against Athens, nor the Ambraciots to assist the Acarnanians against the Peloponnesian league.

μήτε στρατεύειν . . . βοηθεῖν δέ, ‘they were not to take the field . . . but defend each other’s country,’ i.e. while the offensive part of the alliance was limited by certain restrictions, the defensive part was to apply under all circumstances.

4 **Κορίνθιοι.** Corinth was the parent state of the Ambraciots.

115 *Fresh attempt of the Athenians in Sicily. Pythodorus their general was defeated by the Locrians and had to retreat.*

1 **μετὰ τῶν Σικέλων τῶν.** The MSS. show **μετὰ τῶν Σικελιωτῶν.** But, as the Siceliots were divided into two parties of which one favoured the Athenians, the other the Syracusans, it is unlikely that one of these parties would be called simply ‘the Siceliots.’ On the other hand **τῶν Σικέλων** might be used alone in the sense required, since far the greater part of the Sicels were allies of Athens and lived inland (*ἄνω*). In 6. 103. 2 the MS. B has **Σικελιωτῶν** where **Σικέλων** is obviously right.

ἐς τὰ ἐσχατα. The most inland parts.

2 **ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς.** After the implied ‘sent as successor.’

Eruption of Etna.

1 **ὁ ρύαξ,** ‘the lava stream.’

2 **λέγεται δὲ πεντηκοστῷ ἔτει.** According to Thucydides **τὸ πρότερον** **ρένμα** happened sixteen years before the victory of Hiero mentioned by Pindar in Pyth. 1, i.e. in 478 B.C. But according to the Parian marble the eruption is said to have taken place in 479 B.C. Various explanations have been suggested of the discrepancy, of which the best is that the writer has been less accurate than is usual with him, and has been content to give a round number.

INDEX

[The numbers refer to the pages of the notes.]

- Acarnanians 97.
Adverb and adjective co-ordinated 79.
Aegina 65.
Aetna 96.
Alcidas 23.
Ambraciots 97.
Ammeas 19.
Amphilochian Argos 97.
Antissa 17.
article, with predicate 10.
article, with fractions 14, 73.
Asopius 5.
asyndeton 61, 64.
Ἄγραικόν 98.
ἀγωνίζεσθαι 36.
ἀγώνισμα 82.
ἀγωνοθετεῖν 36.
αἴτιον, construction 89, 91.
ἀλική 25, 99.
ἀλλὰ μῆδε, in different senses 43.
ἀλλο τι ἢ 87.
ἀλλοτριοῦ 66.
ᾶν, omission of 22, 24, 45, 74.
ἀνάγειν, for middle 14.
ἀνδραγαθία, ‘nobility’ 58.
ἀνεύθυνος 45.
ἀντεπιμελῆσαι, a nonce-word 11.
ἀντίπαλος 34.
ἀντιπόλεμοι 89.
ἀξίωσις 80.
ἀπεχρῶντο, ‘dispatched’ 77.
ἀπηλιώτου 21.
ἀπὸ ἔνυμβάσεως 69.
ἀπὸ τῆς Νισαίας 53.
ἀποτροπή 81.
ἀργός, ‘unenterprising’ 80.
ἀργυρολόγοι 17.
- ἀσφαλείᾳ = δι' ἀσφαλείας 58, 81.
αὐτοκρατία σώφρων 83.
ἀφίστασθαι, in two senses 12.
ἀφῆμας 97.
- βεβαίον τοῦ 84.
- calendar 1.
Capital punishment 46.
chiasmus 64.
Cleon, character 32.
Colophon 28.
conditional sentence, apparent irregularity 6, 7, 8, 40.
compression 11, 18, 61.
Corcyra 86.
Coronea 63, 68.
cross construction 4, 7.
- genitive of time within which 18.
genitive after τελευτᾶν 61.
genitive with a verb of appealing 61.
Gorgias 37.
γίγνεσθαι, ‘behave’ 7.
γίγνεσθαι, ‘show itself’ 43.
γνώμη 66, 73, 85.
γνώμας ποιεῖσθαι 30.
γνώμας προτιθέναι 31.
γνώμης τυχεῖν 43.
γοῦν 63.
Γραικῆς 90.
- Delos 96.
Demosthenes 92.
Diodotus 42.
δαπάνη 27, 49.
δεδραμένων 56.

INDEX

- δείλην 74.
 διαλυτής 81.
 διὰ πάθους 86.
 διαφερόντως 38.
 διάφευξις for διαφυγή 21.
 δίδραχμοι 15.
 διηγγυημένοι 72.
 διηλαγμένη 79.
 δίκαια, 'grounds of right' 76.
 δίκαια βούλησις 70.
 δικαιοῦσθαι, 'punish' 40.
 διολλύναι 41.
 δῆθεν 70.
 δυναστεία 63.
- Etna, eruption 104.
 ἐδόξασεν, gnomic 48.
 ἐθελοπρόξενος 72.
 εἶ, final 4.
 εἴδος 62.
 εἶναι, 'involve' 68.
 εἰρῆσαν 91.
 εἴ̄s, strengthening superlative 37.
 ἔκ, pregnant 92.
 ἔκ = ὑπό 71.
 ἐν 13, 14, 55, 59.
 ἐν δυνάμει ὅντες 92.
 ἐνεργοί 15.
 ἐν τοῖς πλεῖσται 15.
 ἐξαπινάιως 73.
 ἐπελθοῦσα 89.
 ἐπεστι, 'fine words' 69.
 ἐπί, 'in neighbourhood of' 94.
 ἐπιβάταις 93.
 ἐπιβολά 18.
 ἐπιβούλη 48.
 ἐπιβούλευσασθαι, 'to plot' 81.
 ἐπιγνῶναι, 'to pass sentence' 58.
 ἐπιμένειν, with fut. infin. 23.
 ἐπιστροφή, 'counter revolution' 73.
 ἐσ, resulting in 65.
 ἐσβολή, 'pass' 102.
 ἐσθήμασι τιμᾶν 60.
 ἐσ λόγον, 'in respect of' 49.
 ἐσσαμένων 60.
 ἐταιρικόν 81.
 ἐφθάραται 12.
 ἐφορμεῖν 27.
 ἐφόρμοι 75.
 ἐφυστερίζοντα 80.
- ζημία θανάτου 46.
- Heracleia 90.
 ἥλικια 94.
 ἥν, with opt. 45.
- θεωρεῖν 97.
 θανάτου δίκη 59.
- ἰδέα 62.
 ἵερομηνία 65, 57.
 Idomene Mt. 101.
 Inessa 96.
 Infinitive 2, 12, 20, 34, 36, 40, 41,
 51, 55, 59, 61, 66, 78.
 Infinitive, dictative 3, 73.
 Infinitive as subject without article
 34.
 ἰσονομία πολιτική 83.
- καθ' ἡσυχίαν 50.
 καθιστάμενος 2, 71.
 καί, with numerals or expressions of
 quantity 8, 94.
 καὶ, introducing a consequence 11.
 καὶ, 'actually' 14.
 καὶ, 'atque adeo' 71.
 καὶ ἅμα, 'simul etiam' 26, 79.
 καιρός 86.
 καὶ ταῦτα 67.
 κακία, 'character for baseness' 59.
 κατάγνωσις, with verb construction
 14.
 κατάλογος 88.
 καταφρονοῦντες, 'thinking in their
 pride that' 85.
 κατέκλυσε 89.
 κατάφεγγο 29.
 κείμενον 35.
 κενδύ τοῦ πολέμου, τό 26.
 κίνδυνος 51.
 κληροῦχοι 52.
 κράτος, 'victory' 13.
 κυματωθεῖσα 89.
- Laches 97.
 Leucadia 92.
 λαβόντας - ὑπολαβόντας 60.
- Malea 4.

INDEX

- Methymna 17.
 Minoa 52.
 Μαλέεις 2.
 μᾶλλον ἢ οὐ 31.
 μαρτύριον, 'deposition' 9.
 μέλλησις, transitive 11.
 μέρος νέμειν 2.
 μέρος τι 87.
 μή 10, 28, 40.
 μετίοντες, 'canvassing' 72.
 Mytilene 1.
- Naupactus 92.
 neuter plural participle used impersonally 47, 79.
 Nicostratus 74.
 Nisaea 52.
 Notion 28.
 νεωτερίζειν 4.
 νομίζω, Herodotean construction 84.
 ἔνγγράμμην λαμβάνειν, with infin. 40.
 ἔνταλλαγῆς ὄρκοι 82.
 ἔντουκία 74.
 ἔντυχία 47, 79, 102.
- Olpae 98.
 Orobiae 89.
 ὅ not 'whereas' 11.
 οἷς γε = 'quippe quibus' 38.
 ὀλιγαρχία ἵστορος 62.
 δλκοί 14.
 ὁμαίχμοις 60.
 ὁμοβάμοι 61.
 δ μή βηθεῖς λόγος 55.
 ὅπως, with fut. 23.
 ὄρκον διδόναι 82.
- Paches 24.
 Parian marble 104.
 participle emphatic 55.
 Peithias 72.
 Plataea 18.
 Plataean citizenship 57.
 play on words 12.
 Potidaea 16.
 present with future sense 90.
 Pyrrha 2.
 παθεῖν, absolutely 85.
- παρὰ δόξαν, 'against one's real opinion' 34.
 παρὰ γνώμην 43.
 παραβάλλεσθαι 13, 66.
 παρανίσχον 20.
 παρασκευή 6.
 παρασκευάζειν, 'induce' 31.
 παρὰ τοσοῦτον 51.
 παρὰ τοὺς νόμους 86.
 πάροικος 103.
 πεντετηρίς 96.
 περαιτέρω, as adjective 78.
 περίνοια 44.
 περιορμισάμενοι 5.
 πιστή 39.
 πλούς, 'fair weather' 3.
 πολιτεύειν 62.
 πολυψηφία 7.
 προοίμιον Ἀπόλλωνος 97.
 πρόπειρα 88.
 προσπίπτοντες 99.
 προστάτης τοῦ δήμου 72.
 προσχνελάβοντο 30.
 προτιθέναι ζημίαν 83.
 προυργιαίτερον 100.
 πύστει 80.
- reciprocal proportion 34.
- Salaethus 25.
 Salaminia, the 28.
 Sybota 75.
 σεισμός 56, 88.
 σοφισταῖ 37.
 σπένδομαι, with accus. 22, 100.
 σπονδᾶς Πανσανίον 70.
 στατήρ 72.
 σφῶν for ἔαυτῶν 20.
 σωφροσύνη 33.
 Solon's classes 14.
 subjunctive and optative interchanged 20.
- Thermopylae 91.
 ταξάμενοι 52, 72, 76.
 τὰ μέσα τῶν πολιτῶν 84.
 τεκμηριοῦν 97.
 τίνα ὄντινα οὐ 39.
 τίς, 'qualis' 10.

INDEX

- τῆν ψευσθεῖσαν ὑπόσχεσιν 67.
τόδε 42.
τὸ ἐκείνων πολέμιον 57.
τὸ μεταξὺ τῆς νήσου 53.
τὸ μή 1.
τὸ πάνυ δοκοῦν 35.
τὸ παρατυχόν 82.
τὸ πρόθυμον 83.
τῷ διαλλάσσοντι 7.
τῷ σωφρονεστάτῳ 63.
- φιλέταιρος 80.
φθονεῖν 44.
φρουρεῖν 16.
φυλαί 89.
φυλακὴν εἶναι, with accus. 52.
Phormio 5.
- χάραξ 72.
χοροὺς ἀνάγειν, ‘celebrate dances’
97.
- ώς ἔκαστοι 98.
ώς ἐπὶ τὸ πλέον 33.
- ὑφέλωσι 26.

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